To the Reader in general, and especially to the Souldier.

In these Martial times, if any thing can excite you yet higher to honourable Atchievements, it will be the perusal of this History, then which (if you respect either the Excellence of Alexander, *or the abilities of* Curtius *you will find nothing more magnificent, or delightful. You will find how Kingdomes are disposed of by the eternal Decrees of Providence, and that when God is pleased to put a period to them, he selects men, and inspires them with courage and understanding answerable to that great work unto which he hath appointed them. None but* Alexander *could perform what* Alexander *hath done, and though his course of life was so short that he did rather destroy then erect an Empire, yet we may wonder as much at his Resolution what he undertook, as at his success in what he performed. With an inconsiderable power, with Wicker Targets, and Swords covered with rust, and a stock of not above threescore Talents, which, he himself confesseth, was the strength of all his Exchequer, he advanced into Asia, and in the compass of a few years, he became Master of all the East, and, at that time, of the most flourishing and potent Nations of the World. He never encountred any Enemy whom he overcame not, nor besieged City which he took not, nor invaded Land which he subdued not. Although the first rise of the War were in the days of* Xerxes, *and his Predecessors, yet the calamity of it, and the utter ruine of the*

Empire

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THE TEN BOOKS OF Quintus Curtius Rufus:

CONTAINING,

The LIFE and DEATH OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Exactly conferred with the Original, and purged from many gross Errours and Absurdities, with which it before abounded.

By the same hand which translated the last Volume of the HOLY COURT.

LONDON,
Printed by *Bernard Alsop*, and are to be sold at his House near the upper Pomp in *Grubstreet*.
1652.

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IN these Martial times, if any thing can excite you yet higher to honourable Atchievements, it will be the perusal of this History; then which (if you respect either the Excellence of Alexander, *or the abilities of* Curtius) *you will find nothing more magnificent, or delightful. You will find how Kingdomes are disposed of by the eternal Decrees of Providence, and that when God is pleased to put a period to them, he selects men, and inspires them with courage and understanding answerable to that great work unto which he hath appointed them. None but* Alexander *could perform what* Alexander *hath done, and though his course of life was so short that he did rather destroy then erect an Empire, yet we may wonder as much at his Resolution what he undertook, as at his success in what he performed. With an inconsiderable power, with Wicker Targets, and Swords covered with rust, and a stock of not above threescore Talents, which, he himself confesseth, was the strength of all his Exchequer, he advanced into* Asia, *and in the compass of a few years, he became Master of all the East, and, at that time, of the most flourishing and potent Nations of the World. He never encountred any Enemy whom he overcame not, nor besieged City which he took not, nor invaded Land which he subdued not. Although the first grounds of the War were in the days of* Xerxes, *and his Predecessors, yet the calamity of it, and the utter ruine of the*

Empire

To the Reader.

Empire was in the days of Darius, *the last and the best of the Emperours. The admirable Revolution of States, and from what small beginning great powers do arise, is no where more apparently to be seen; and by the understanding of the events so long ago, abroad, you may draw your application to things more present, and at home. To adde more is to anticipate your understanding, I shall onely insert, that the Authour of this History* Quintus Curtius (*by his complexion sirnamed* Rufus) *was supposed to live in the days of* Caligula; *His History is full of Variety, and attended with as much gravity as delight, as, in the perusal of it, you will acknowledge with him (who, for your better information onely, hath taken these pains to review it) it being as much my Business as my Ambition, to relieve and advance your Understanding.*

Codrington.

Errata.

THere is nothing that is absolutely perfect; *Alexander* himself had a Mole in his face. The oversight of the Printer hath occasioned some faults in the Press: As, in the Title throughout the Book, the word *supplied* is to be left out, unless in the first and second Books; *pag.* 225. *lin.* 8. for *patiently* read *plead for himself*; *pag.* 229. *lin.* 31. for *brought forth but not bred*, read *bred but not brought forth*; with some others, besides litteral faults not a few, which are left to your candor, either to correct them, or excuse them.

TO THE

TRUE LOVER OF ALL GOOD LEARNING

THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

BAPTIST Viſcount CAMBDEN,

Lord Noel of Redlington, and

Baron of *Elmington*, &c.

My Lord,

GReat Actions are the Subjects of great Wits, and no Age hath been ſo unhappy but they have found great perſonages, if not to exceed, to ſecond, and protect them. But the atchieve-

chievements of Alexander the Great are ſo great in themſelves, that they are rather the ſubjects of our Wonder then Belief, nor can any man be a juſt Judge of them who is not endued with the ſame ſpirit of Fortitued and, withall, tranſported with the ſame deſire of Glory. Fame, indeed, is not ſo much the Bound, as the delight of tranſcendent ſpirits, who, with the unwearied travails of their Swords, adde Kingdomes unto Kingdomes, and abſtract from the Numbers of the Nations to adde to the Numbers of their Conqueſts. How many have we read of, who, almoſt ſince the Cradle of the World, have exerciſed thus the power of the Sword, and, by a lamentable happineſs, have made the Epitaphs of other Nations to become the beſt Annals of their Immortality and Fury.

But Alexander was as mercifull as he was juſt, and having overcom the Nations by force, he always after, by a newer and Nobler Conqueſt did both overcom and oblige them by his Bounty. By a rare felicity hee had Fortune entirely in his own power, and at laſt he would become the Maſter as much of Fame as of Fortune. He wa

ſad to underſtand that his Atchievements had brought him to the utmoſt parts of the World, and he would have no end of his Victories, becauſe he would have no end of his Glory. Having exceeded the Acts of Men, he would exceed even Fame her ſelf, unleſs ſhe could finde breath enough to raiſe him unto Heaven, and leave him there enthron'd amongſt his Gods.

And yet for all this vain attempt and confidence, hee might have ſlept covered with the Duſts of Oblivion, were he not beholding to a better Divinity, and to the Light of Hiſtorie, which have preſerved his Name throughout all Generations. The Prophets have done the one, and this our Authour the other; The Prophets in the WORD of GOD, and our Authour in this Hiſtory: A Hiſtory drawn from the Records of Antiquity, and famous as Ptolomy himſelf, a man as admirable in the Arts of Peace as of War, who, being preſent with Alexander in all his Wars was both his Companion and his Kinſman; A Hiſtory compoſed with ſuch Art, ſuch State, and Truth, that Lipſius the moſt lettered and the

moſt received of the Criticks hath affirmed; If there were ever Hiſtory pure and legitimate, it was this of Curtius.

It was before imperfect in Engliſh, and laboured at leaſt under a thouſand Solæciſmes; I have onely taken the pains to put it in a new Dreſs, and to prepare it for your Honors hands, to which preciſely it doth devote it ſelf, and, with it, the moſt elaborate obſervances of him who is;

My Lord

The moſt humble and moſt faithfull of all that ſerve you:

Robert Codrington.

The First Book of

QUINTUS CURTIUS

SUPPLIED, CONCERNING,

The Birth and Education of Alexander *the Great: The Murther of his Father* Philip; *The Dream of his Mother* Olympias *in relation to the admirable Victories, which (throughout the whole course of his Wars) he afterwards atchieved.*

PHilip of *Macedon*, who by subduing of *Greece* did first advance that Kingdom unto that height of power, was the son of *Amintas*; a man indued with wisdome, courage, and all other vertues of a noble Captain. This *Amintas* had by *Eurydice* his wife, three sons, *Alexander*, *Perdicas*, and *Philip* who was the Father of Great *Alexander*, and a daughter called *Eurione*: The Queen *Eurydice* being enamoured with one that had married her daughter, conspired the death of the King her husband, to the intent to have married with her son in Law, and to make him King: which thing she had brought to effect, had not the Treason and Lasciviousnesse of the Mother been opportunely revealed by the Daughter. After the death of *Amintas*, *Alexander* the eldest son enjoyed his fathers Kingdome, who in the beginning of his reign was so assailed on all sides, that he was driven by force to purchase peace of the Illyrians with money, and by giving his Brother *Philip* in hostage, And afterwards by the same pledge he made a like peace with the Thebans, which was the occasion that *Philip* did attain to such excellency of knowledge and wisdome, For by reason that he was committed to the custody of *Epaminondas*, who was a valiant Captain, and an excellent Philosopher, he was brought up in the exercise of honest disciplines, and Princely matters, greatly profiting under a scholler of *Pythago-*

ris ſchool, whom *Epaminondas* kept in his houſe for the inſtruction of his ſon. In the mean ſeaſon *Alexander* was ſlain by the means of *Euridice* his mother: whoſe former treaſon King *Aminias* her husband had pardoned in reſpect of the children had between them, little thinking that ſhe would afterwards have been their deſtruction. For when *Alexander* was dead, ſhe cauſed in like manner her other ſon *Perdicas* to be ſlain: which *Perdicas* left behind him one ſon, being a young babe. About the ſame time *Philip* the youngeſt brother, having by good hap ſlipt away from his guardian *Epaminondas*, returned into *Macedon*, and not taking upon him the name of King, remained a great while, no otherwiſe, but as a protectour to his young Nephew. Nevertheleſſe afterwards, by occaſion of ſundry miſchiefs growing in the ſtate, the ſame being ſuch as might not well attend the majority of the young King, *Philip* appearing to be a man of ſingular activity, and of no leſſe skill in feats of war, then in knowledge of Philoſophy, was compelled by the people to take upon him the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which as then ſtood in great difficulties, and danger of ruine. This was done 300. years after the building of Rome, and in the 105 Olympiade. In the beginning of his reign he was invironed with infinit troubles; for all the neighbouring countries (as it were by a generall conſpiracy) moved war againſt him: and at one time ſundry Nations combined together out of ſundry parts to aſſail his Kingdome. Wherefore conſidering that it ſtood him upon to move diſcreetly (not being able to match them all at once) he pacified ſome with fair promiſes, others with money, and the weakeſt he withſtood by force. By this means he both made his enemies afraid, and confirmed the hearts of his people, whom he found diſcouraged and ſore amazed, theſe things he wrought with great Artifice and fineneſs of wit, in ſuch ſort, that he diminiſhed not any part of his honour, eſtate, or reputation: determining nevertheleſs, as time ſhould ſerve, to deal with every one a part. His firſt war was with the *Athenians*, whom he overcame by wit and policie; and whereas it lay in his power to have put them all to the ſword, he ſet them all at liberty without ranſome. By which point of clemencie, though it was but counterfeit, being done for fear of a greater war at hand, yet it procured him great eſtimation and authority. After that, he ſubdued the *Peons*, and from them turned his power againſt the *Illyrians*, of whom he ſlew many thouſands, and conquered the famous City of Lariſſa. That done, he moved war againſt the

the *Theſſalians*, not for any deſire of their goods, or ſpoil of their Coun-try, but out of a policy to add to his ſtrength the force of their Caval-ry, which in thoſe days were accounted the chiefeſt in the world. This he happily effected; for being ſuddenly aſſailed, they were ſoon brought to ſubjection, and *Philip* joyning the force of their horſemen unto his footmen, he made his power invincible.

After al theſe things being brought to paſs, he took to wife *Olympias* one of the daughters of *Neoptolemus*, K. of the *Moloſſi*. This marriage was concluded by the means of *Ariſba*, who had the government of *Olympias*, and not long before had married her other ſiſter *Troas*. This marriage, which he thought to have made for his ſecurity, turned afterwards to his ſubverſion; for thinkiug to have made himſelf ſtrong by the affinity of *Philip*, he was at laſt by him deprived of the whole Kingdome, and ended his life miſerably in exile. Not long after this marriage, King *Philip* dreamed, that he ſaw an excellent meddal faſtened to the Womb of his Wife, and to his ſeeming, the lively Image of a Lion thereupon: By which dream, the Diviners did interpret, That his Wife was conceived of a Child, that ſhould be of a Lions heart and courage; which interpretation pleaſed him highly. Afterwards at the aſſault of a City called *Methron*, by ſhot of an arrow he loſt his right eye: whereof though the diſpleaſure was great, yet was he content upon their ſubmiſſion, to take them to mercy. He won alſo the City of *Pagus*, and annexed the ſame unto his Kingdome. He invaded the land of the *Tribals*, and at one inſtant conquered it, with all the countries thereabout. Thus having made his Kingdome ſtrong by ſubduing his neighbours, at his return home, his wife *Olympias* was delivered of his ſon *Alexander*, on the eighth of the Ides of April. Of theſe good fortunes the King rejoyced no leſſe then reaſon was, having eſtabliſhed his Countrey at home, ſubdued his enemies abroad, and gotten an Heir to ſucceed him in his Kingdome; he could have deſired no more of God, if the mind of man could ever be ſatisfied, which the more it hath the more it coveteth.

As Dominion encreaſeth, ſo doth alſo the deſire to have more; which was well ſeen in *Philip*, that ſtill did compaſſe how to grow great by taking from his neighbours, and lay always like a ſpie, waiting an occaſion how to catch from every man. Whereunto he had an opportunity offered by the Cities of *Greece*; for whiles one did coyet to ſubdue another, and through ambition were at ſtrife, who ſhould

be chief, by one and one he brought them all into ſubjection, perſwading the ſmaller States to move war againſt the greater, and, to ſerve his purpoſe, contrived the ways to ſet them altogether by the ears, But at length, when his practiſes were perceived, divers Cities feating his encreaſing power, confederated againſt him as their common enemy, but chiefly the Thebans: Nevertheleſs, neceſſity compelling, they choſe him afterwards to be their Captain General againſt the Lacedemonians, and the Phoceans, who had ſpoiled the Temple of *Apollo*. This war he honourably atchieved, ſo that by puniſhing of their ſacriledge he got himſelf great renown in all thoſe parts. But in the end, obſerving both thoſe Countries to be brought low with the war, he found means to ſubdue the one and, the other, compelling as well the overcomers as the overcome to be his tributaries. Then he made a voyage into *Cappadocia*, where killing and taking priſoners all the Princes thereabout, he reduced the whole Province to the ſubjection of *Macedon*. He conquered *Olinthus*, and not long after invaded *Thrace*: For whereas the two Kings of that Countrey were at variance about the limits of their Kingdomes, and choſe him to be their arbiter, he gladly took it upon him: But at the day appointed for the judgment, he came not thither like a Judge with a Councel, but like a Warriour with an Army, and to part the ſtrife, expelled both parties from their Kingdomes. By this time young *Alexander* was twelve years of age, and began to take great delight in the feats of War, ſhewing moſt manifeſt ſigns of a noble heart, and an excellent apprehenſion; he was very ſwift of foot, and one day at a ſolemn game of Running called the Olympick race, being demanded by ſome of his companions if he would run with them? Gladly (ſaid he) if there were Kings ſons to run with me. On another time, when certain Embaſſadours of the Perſians came into *Macedon*, *Alexander* who in his fathers abſence took upon him to entertain them, and diſcourſing with them of divers things, in all his communication, there paſſed not from him one childiſh or vain word, but he inquired of them the ſtate of their Countrey, the manners of the people, the diſtances of the ways, the power of their King, and the order of his wars, with ſuch like; ſo that the Embaſſadours aſtoniſhed thereat eſteemed the greatneſſe of the father to be much leſſe then the Expectation of his ſon, and that his courage was much greater then was to be looked for in one of his years. As often as tidings came that the King his father had conquered any ſtrong or rich Town, or obtained any no-

table

table victory, he never ſeemed greatly joyfull, but would ſay to his play-fellows, My father doth ſo many great acts, that he will leave no occaſion of any remarkable thing for us todo; ſuch were his words ſuch was his talk: whereby it was eaſie to conjecture what a man he would prove in his age who ſo began in his youth. His delight was not ſet on on any kind of pleaſure or greedineſſe of gain, but in the onely exerciſe of vertue and deſire of honour. The more authority that he received of his father, the leſſe he would ſeem to bear. And although by the great increaſe of his fathers dominion, it ſeemed that he ſhould have the leſſe occaſion of wars, yet he did not ſet his delight in vain pleaſure, or heaping up of treaſure, but ſought all the means he could to uſe the feats and exerciſes of war, coveting ſuch a Kingdome, wherein for his vertue and proweſs he might purchaſe Fame and Immortality. That hope never deceived *Alexander*, nor any other that hath either will or occaſion to put the ſame in practiſe.

The charge and governance of this young Prince was committed to ſundry excellent Maſters, but chiefly to the Philoſopher *Ariſtotle*, whoſe Vertue, Learning and Knowledge King *Philip* ſo much eſteemed, that he would often ſay, he took no greater comfort in the birth of his ſon, then that he was provided for him with ſuch a Maſter as *Ariſtotle*, under whoſe tuition he remained ten years. Many things there happened beſides, whereby it was conjectured that *Alexander* ſhould prove a Man of great valour. For when his Father ſent to *Delphos* to receive anſwer of the Gods who ſhould be his ſucceſſour, the Oracle delivered, That ſuch a one ſhould not ſucceed him onely, but alſo be Lord of the world whom *Bucephalus* would ſuffer to ſit upon his back. This *Bucephalus* was a paſſing fair Horſe, fiery, and full of courage, whom *Philip* had bought of a Theſſalian for thirteen Talents, and becauſe of his fierceneſſe he kept him in a ſtable impaled with Iron bars; yet for all this, he remained ſo full of ſpirit, that none durſt come approach to dreſſe him, whereof the King was ſo wary, that he ſought the means to be rid of the Horſe. It fortuned that *Alexander* came one day with his Father into the ſtable, What a Horſe (ſaid he) is ſpoiled here for want of good horſemanſhip? & ſo coming more near, & gently clapping him, without any great difficulty he gat upon his back, and uſing both the ſpur and the rod to the uttermoſt, he ran and managed him ſo up and down, that the Horſe ſeemed proud of his Rider: and having rode his fill, he brought the Horſe back again. As he alighted,

the

the King for joy imbraced and kiſſed him, and with tears in his eyes ſaid, O ſon, ſeek out for ſome other Kingdome ſuitable to the greatneſs of thy heart, for *Macedonia* cannot ſuffice thee. So that even then the prudent father did preſage, that all his poſſeſſions were far inſufficient for his ſons heart. After this King *Philip* determined to make war againſt all *Greece*: for the maintainance whereof he thought it great advantage if he might firſt win *Bizancium*, a famous City on the ſea coaſt. Wherefore committing the charge and gouernment of his realm to his ſon, being then 15 years of Age, he laid ſiege to the Town, which made him great reſiſtance. When he had diſpended all his riches and treaſure about the ſiege, he was driven to ſo narrow a ſhift, that to furniſh himſelf with money, he became a Pyrate, and roved on the ſea, where he took 170 ſhips, the ſpoil whereof he divided among his ſouldiers. And leaſt his whole Army ſhould be detained about the ſiege of one City, he ſelected the choiceſt bands of all his ſouldiers, and marched into *Cherſoneſus*, where he took and put to ſack many Towns. And becauſe his ſon *Alexander* was then about eighteen years of age, and had ſhewed an evident proof of his vertue and manhood in all his attempts, his father ſent for him thither, to the intent that under him he might learn and exerciſe all the feats belonging to a ſouldier, and with him made a voyage into *Scythia* upon no other quarrel but to ſpoil the Country; thus uſing the way of Merchants, with the gain of one war he did bear out the charges of another. After he had brought the country in ſubjection, becauſe no riches of gold nor ſilver was to be gotten there, he brought from thence 20000 of men, women and children, beſides a great multitude of cattel, with 20000 choiſe Mares to make a race in *Macedon*: in his return he was encountred by the Tribals, who denied him paſſage, except they might have part of his booty. Whereupon debating of the matter from words they fell to fighting, in which King *Philip* was ſo wounded in his thigh, that through the violence of the thruſt, the horſe was run through the body; and all men judging him to be ſlain the booty was loſt.

As ſoon as he was recovered of his wound, his diſſembled grudge againſt the Athenians, burſt out ſo far, that he made open war againſt them; by reaſon whereof the Thebans ſeeing the danger ſo near at hand, gave ſuccour to their neighbours, fearing if the Athenians were overcome, the laſt fury of the wars would turn upon them. Wherefore the Cities that a little before were mortal enemies one to another combined

bined together in one league, and ſent their Embaſsadors through all *Greece*, holding it moſt expedient with a common aid to withſtand a common enemy. Some conſidering the peril to be univerſal, ſtuck to the Athenians; and ſome obſerving *Philips* power increaſing, and the other decreaſing, took part with *Philip*. In this war *Alexander* had the charge of one of the wings committed to him, wherein his noble courage did well appear; for he deported himſelf ſo valiantly that he ſeemed nothing inferiour to his father nor any elſe; but by moſt juſt deſert got the honour of the victory: yet he was defrauded thereof by the envy and ſleight of his father, as he himſelf complained afterwards. This battell was fought at *Cheronæa*, wherein though the Athenians were the greater number, yet were they overcome by the Macedonians, who were the fewer, but expert ſouldiers by reaſon of their long and continual practice in wars: nevertheleſs the Athenians (as men not unmindfull of their former honour, left their lives valiantly. That day made an end of all the Grecians glory, as well of their large rule and government, as of their moſt ancient freedome and liberty; which being hardly won & long time kept, was thus loſt in a moment. For theſe things and many other experiments of valour and proweſs in young *Alexander*, although the King his father did bear him ſingular affection & favor, yet nevertheles by certain occaſions enſuing, that love was unhappily broken. For *Philip* being married to *Olympias*, Mother of *Alexander* (as is ſaid before) took to wife, beſides her, a Lady called *Cleopatra*, whereupon fell great diſcord and unkindneſs between the father and the ſon. The occaſion was given by one *Attalus*, uncle to *Cleopatra*; who being at the new marriage, exhorted the Macedons to make prayers to the Gods, to ſend the King and new Queen a lawfull heir to ſucceed in the Kingdome of Macedon. Whereat *Alexander* being moved, Vile man as thou art (ſaid he) doſt thou count me a Baſtard? and with that word flung the cup at his head: The King hearing this, roſe up, and with his ſword drawn ran at his ſon, who by the nimbleneſs of his body avoided the ſtroke, ſo that it did him no harm. Hereupon *Alexander* inveighing againſt him with many ſharp and deſpightfull words, departed, and went with his mother into *Epirus*. Nevertheleſs ſoon after, by the means of one *Demoratus* a Corinthian, who perſwaded the King that this diſcord was nothing for his honour, *Alexander* was ſent for again, and much ſolicitation was uſed before they could be wel reconciled: wherefore to con-

firm

firm this attonement, there was a marriage made between *Alexander* the brother of *Olympias* (whom *Philip* by the expulsion of *Arisba* had made King of *Epirus*) and *Cleopatra* the new Queens daughter. The triumph of the day was remarkable, according to the state and magnificence of such two Princes, the one bestowing his Daughter, and the other marrying a Wife. There were set forth sundry Interludes and inventions pleasant to behold. And as King *Philip* (between the two *Alexanders*, the one his natural son, the other his son in law) was passing through the presse without any Guard, one *Pausanias*, a young man of the Nobility of *Macedon*, when no man suspected any such thing, suddenly slew him; making the day dedicated to joy and triumph, to be heavy with grief and lamentation. This *Pausanias*, being a boy, one *Attalus* inforced to the unlawfull use of his body, and not content to do so himself, at another feast he caused divers of his familiars to abuse him likewise, which shame and villany grieved the young man so sore, that he complained to the King, whom although the foulnesse of the fact moved much, yet for the love he bare to *Attalus*, and for the respect of his service, he did forbear to animadvert against him. This *Attalus* was very near unto the King, and in special favour, by reason he was Kinsman unto the Queen *Cleopatra* whom *Philip* had lately married: He was also elected Captain General of the Kings army prepared to passe into *Asia*, being one that was both valiant in his person, and no lesse politick in the discipline of war. Upon these respects, the King indeavoured by all the means he could to pacifie *Pausanias* (incensed with indignation and revenge) as well by giving him great gifts, as by placing him honorably among those Gentlemen that were for the guard of his person. But all this could not appease the rage of his implacable anger, which wrought so in him, that he determined to be revenged not only upon *Attalus* that did the villany, but also upon the King that would not administer Justice; which determination he put in effect as is said before. Many things might be said more of the doings and sayings of this *Philip*; but one thing above all others is to be noted, that although for the most part he was exercised in the travail of the wars, & in victorious actions, yet had he ever such affection to the studies of humanity and good learning, that he both did and spake many things worthy of memory, which were both witty and pleasant. He lived 47 years, and reigned 25, being the three and twentieth K. of the Macedons.

The Second BOOK
OF
QUINTUS CURTIUS
SUPPLIED.

WHen *Philip* was dead, his ſon, who for the greatneſſe of his acts, was afterwards called *Alexander* The Great, took upon him the Kingdome, the 426. year after the building of *Rome*, being of the age of twenty years. His ſtate ſtood at that time ſubject to much envy, hatred, and hazard from all parts: For the Nations and Provinces bordering upon him, could not well endure their preſent bondage, and every one of them ſought how to recover again their ancient Dominions and Principalities. The firſt thing he undertook after he was King, was the ſevere puniſhment of as many as had conſpired his Fathers death; which performed, he celebrated his Funerals with great ſolemnity. As for his Eſtate, he ſoon eſtabliſhed it, and that much better then any man could have imagined, in one of ſo young and tender years: For being of ſome had in contempt, and by ſome others ſuſpected to be cruel, towards the one he deported himſelf ſo gallantly, that he took from them all contempt, and to the other ſo gently, that their imagined fear of his cruel diſpoſition was clean taken away. He granted unto the Macedons freedome and priviledge from all exactions and bondage, except from the ſervice of war, By which act he got ſo great favour and love amongſt his people, that all affirmed by one conſent, how the perſon of their King was changed, and not his vertue; his Name was altered, but not his Government. In the beginning of his Reign, rebellion was made againſt him on all ſides, but immediately, with an incredible courage and conſtancy of

mind, he appeased all the tumults. That matter set in order, he went to *Corinth* in *Peloponesus*, where calling a General Councel of all the States of *Greece*, he was elected Captain General against the Persians, who had afflicted *Greece* with many overthrows, and at that present did possess the greatest Empire in the world. His Father had designed this war before, but by the prevention of death, he brought not his intention to effect. Whilest he was in preparation for this enterprise, he was informed how the Athenians, the Thebans, and Lacedemonians were revolted from him, and were confederate with the Persians, by the perswasions of the Oratour *Demosthenes*, who was corrupted by them with a great sum of money. For the reformation whereof, *Alexander* so suddenly advanced with his Army, that when he came upon them, they could scarcely believe he should be present, having not received the least intelligence of his march. In his way he treated with the Thessalians, and used to them such gentle words and apt perswasions, by putting them in remembrance of his Fathers benefits, and of the ancient kindred between them by their discent from *Hercules*, that by an universal decree of the whole Countrey, he was created their Governour, and delivered up unto him all his Treasures and Revennues. So great was the celerity that this young man used, and his diligence so effectual, that he made all such to fear him as before were revolted, or had him in contempt. As the Athenians were the first that failed, so they first of all repented, extolling with praises *Alexanders* young years, which before they had despised, above the vertue of the ancient Conquerours. They also sent Embassadours to require of him Peace; whom he sore rebuked when they came to his presence, but yet was content at length to remit their offence: and although *Demosthenes* was chosen one of the Embassadours, yet he came not in his sight, but being on his way as far as *Cytheron*, he returned again to *Athens*, which either was for fear that he had so often inveighed against *Philip*, and stirred the Athenians against him, or else to take away the suspicion of himself from the King of *Persia*, of whom (it was said) he received a great sum of Gold to oppose the Macedons. The same thing was objected against him by *Æschines* in an Oration, where he saith, For the present, the Kings Gold doth bear his charges, but that cannot last him long, seeing no riches can suffice his prodigal life. When *Alexander* had pacified the tumults that were begun in *Greece*, before he would passe his Army into *Asia*, he

he made a journey againſt the Peons, the Tribals, and the Illyrians, becauſe he underſtood they were conſpiring together, and bordered upon his Countrey, and were accuſtomed to invade it upon every occaſion, he thought them to be no way neglected before he removed his army from the City of *Amphipolis*: He therefore marched againſt the Thracians, who at that time were not under the rule, or law of any.

In ten days he came to the Mount *Hemus*, in the top whereof he found them encamped, with a power to reſiſt his paſſage. Inſtead of trenches, they had empaled themſelves with their carriages croſſe the ſtreights, purpoſing there to withſtand him, and if they ſhould be invaded any other way then by the ſtreights, they did determine to roul their carriages down the hill upon the Macedons, to break their array. That device was put in execution, but the ſouldiers had received before inſtructions by *Alexander*, as occaſion ſhould ſerve, either to open their array to let the charriots and wheels paſſe through them, or elſe to fall flat upon the ground, and by covering their bodies with their Targets, to avoid the danger; They followed their inſtructions, and when the chariots were paſſed by, they with a great courage and ſhout mounted up againſt their enemies, and in a moment put them to flight. When *Alexander* was paſſed the Mountain, he entred into the country of the Tribals, as far as the river of *Ligeus*. When *Syrmus* King of that land underſtood of his approach, he ſent his wife and his children, with ſuch of his people as were not meet for the wars, into an Iſland called *Peuca*, ſituate within the river of *Danubius*: into which Iſland, the Thracians bordering with the Tribals, were fled alſo. It was not long after that *Syrmus* himſelf fled thither in like manner. The reſt of the Tribals that were not with the King, withdrawing themſelves into an other Iſland, where they kept themſelves againſt *Alexander*. But he by pollicy ſought the means to draw them out of their ſtrength, wherby he ſlew of them to the number of three thouſand, and the reſt fled away, ſo that of priſoners but few were taken.

After this battell he marched towards the river of *Danubius*, to the Iſland whither the Thracians, and the other Tribals, were fled. They made notable reſiſtance againſt him; which they might the better do, by reaſon that *Alexander* wanted boars to paſſe into the Iſland, the banks whereof were ſo high and ſteep, that they would not be mounted on but with great difficulty, the river running violently ſwift, by reaſon that the ſtream was there driven into a ſtreight. When *Alexan-*

der perceived the impoſſibility to aſſault them, he withdrew to another place, where getting a few boats, in the night he paſſed over one thouſand five hundred horſemen, and four thouſand footmen. With that company he ſet upon a people called Getes, who ſtood in order of battell on the further ſide of the river, with four thouſand horſemen, and ten thouſand footmen, of purpoſe to ſtop the Macedons paſſage. But by their ſudden coming over, the Getes were ſo afraid that they did not abide the firſt aſſault.

It ſeemed to them a wonderfull adventure, for *Alexander* in one night without a bridge, to paſs his army over the broadeſt and deepeſt river in all *Europe*.

This ſtrook ſuch a fear and terrour in their hearts, that they fled into the woods, mountains, and deſart places, leaving their City deſolate, which was taken by *Alexander*.

Syrmus King of the Tribals, with the Germans, and the other inhabitants upon the river of *Danubius*, ſent their Embaſſadors thither unto *Alexander*, to enter with him into friendſhip. And he condiſcending unto their requeſts, inquired of the Germans what thing it which was in the world they doubted moſt, thinking indeed that the terrour of his name had beene the moſt fearfull thing unto them. But when they underſtood his meaning, they anſwered that they doubted greatly the falling of the skie, with whole preſumptuous anſwer *Alexander* was nothing moved, nor further replied, ſaving onely he ſaid, that the Germans were a proud people, and thereupon diſmiſſed them. As he was going from then againſt the Agrians, and the Peans, he was advertiſed that *Clitus Bardelius* had rebelled, and had confederated with *Glaucius*, the King of the Thaulaunts: hee had alſo intelligence that the people of *Anteri*, would give him battel in his paſſage. Wherefore he committed to *Lagarius* King of the Agrians, (who was wel beloved of King *Philip*, and no leſſe in the favour of *Alexander*) the charge to go againſt the Anterians, and promiſed him upon his return to give him his ſiſter *Cyna* in marriage. And *Alexander* himſelf with great celerity marched againſt *Clitus* and *Glaucius*, whom in ſundry battels he overcame. Whiles *Alexander* was about theſe things, he received intelligence that divers Cities in *Greece*, and ſpecially the Thebans had rebelled: which thing moved him much, and was the cauſe that he returned with ſpeed to oppreſſe theſe commotions. The Thebans in the mean ſeaſon beſieged the Caſtle of Thebes, wherein was a garriſon

garriſon of Macedons, and endeavoured by all means to be maſters of it. *Alexander* by great journeys advanced to their reſcue, and encamped with his hoaſt near to the City. Such as bare rule amongſt the Thebans when they ſaw him come, contrary to their expectation, and doubting whether ſuch aid ſhould come to them from other Cities as was promiſed, began to conſult how to proceed.

At length by a general conſent, they determined to abide the adventure and extremity of the war. The King in the mean ſeaſon ſtood at a ſtay, giving them ſpace to be better adviſed and alter their reſolution; for he was of opinion, that no one City would have made reſiſtance againſt ſo great a power as he had, being above 30000 footmen, and 3000 horſemen, all old ſouldiers and expert in the travels of war. The truſt of their experience and valour had cauſed him to undertake the war againſt the Perſians. Truly, if the Thebans had given place to fortune and time, and would have required peace, they might eaſily have obtained it, his deſire was ſo great to paſs into *Aſia* againſt the Perſians. But the Thebans being determined to try their force, and not to make any ſute, fought againſt the Macedons, far exceeding them in number, with great reſolution: but whileſt the battels were joyning, the Gariſon of the Caſtle iſſued out upon the Thebans backs; whereby being incloſed, they were vanquiſhed, their City taken, ſpoiled, and utterly raſed. Which extremity *Alexander* uſed of purpoſe, becauſe he thought the reſt of the Grecians (being afraid by their example) would be the more quiet, while he ſhould be in the wars of *Aſia*. To gratifie the Phocians and Platæans, his confederates which brought many accuſations againſt the Thebans. he ſlew ſix thouſand of them, and ſold thirty thouſand as ſlaves: the money thereof amounted to the ſum of four hundred and forty Talents: yet he ſpared all the linnage of *Pindarus* the Poet, whereby he would witneſs unto the world, the favour he did bear unto learned men. In this City of *Thebes*, was a notable woman called *Timoclea*, whom when a Captain of Thrace did raviſh, and would have inforced her to confeſs her money, ſhe brought him to a Well, where (ſhe ſaid) all her precious treaſure was hidden: and whileſt he ſtooped down to look into the Well, ſhe thruſt him in, & threw many great ſtones after him, whereby he was ſlain. For this fact ſhe being committed to priſon, and afterwards brought before *Alexander*, he asked her what ſhe was: ſhe anſwered without fear, that ſhe was ſiſter to *Theagenes*, who being elected Captain General againſt

King *Philip* his father, manfully died for the liberty of *Greece*, whoſe ſtoutneſs and conſtancy the King marvelled ſo much, that he cauſed her with her children to be ſet at liberty. The Athenians had ſo great pitty and compaſſion of the eſtate of the Thebans, that contrary to the commandement of *Alexander*, they received into their City ſuch of them as eſcaped, which King *Alexander* took in ſuch diſpleaſure, that when they ſent Embaſſadors the ſecond time to demand peace, he would not grant attonement upon any other conditions, but that ſuch Orators and Captains which had ſtirred them to rebellion, ſhould be delivered unto his hands. But at length it was ſo carried that the Oratours were reſerved, and the Captains baniſhed, who ſtreight fled to *Darius* King of *Perſia*. At ſuch time as *Alexander* aſſembled the Grecians in Iſthmos for the determination of his journey into *Perſia*, many Oratours and Phyloſophers came to viſit him, *Diogenes* onely that remained about Corinth, kept himſelf away, as one that eſteemed *Alexander* nothing at all: whereat he marvelled much, and went himſelf to viſit him, as he was warming of himſelf in the Sun. He asked *Diogenes* if he had need of any thing that he might do for him, To whom *Diogenes* neither gave reverence nor thanks, but willed him to ſtand out of his Sunſhine, In whoſe behaviour and words *Alexander* took ſo great delight that turning to thoſe that were with him, he ſaid, if he were not *Alexander* he ſhould wiſh to be *Diogenes*. When he had put in order the affairs of *Greece* committing the rule thereof together with the realm of Macedon to the government of *Antipater*, whom he moſt truſted, in the beginning of the Spring, he marched to Heleſpont with his whole army, which he tranſported into *Aſia*, with incredible ſpeed and diligence.

When they were come to the further ſhore, *Alexander* wich great force threw a dart into the enemies land, and as he was armed, leaped out of the ſhips with great joy, and there ſacrificed, making petition unto the Gods, that they would vouchſafe to admit him King of that land. From thence he marched towards his enemies, and forbad his ſouldiers to make any ſpoil of the Country, perſwading them to ſpare that which was their own, & not to deſtroy that land which they came to poſſeſs. He had not in this Army above the number of 32000, footmen and 5000. horſemen, and but 180. ſhips: wherefore it is hard to judge, whether it be more wonderfull, that he conquered the World, or that he durſt attempt the conqueſt thereof with ſo ſmall a power.

power. To ſuch a dangerous enterpriſe he choſe not out the young men in the firſt flower of their age, but the old ſouldiers, of whom the moſt part for their long continuance in wars, ſhould according to the cuſtome, be ſet at liberty, and excuſed from the ſervice of the wars, ſaving at their own pleaſure. And there was no Captain, nor any other that did bear Office in his Army under the age of 60. years: ſo that the ſouldiers ſeemed to be Schoolmaſters of the wars, and the Captains for their gravity appeared to be Senators in ſome ancient Commenwealth; which was the occaſion, that in the fight none of them minded flying, but every one, confident of the victory, did not truſt to his feet but to his hands. *Alexander*, who every where made ſacrifice, did uſe moſt ſolemnity at *Troy*, upon *Achilles* Tomb, of whom he was deſcended by the mothers ſide: He judged him moſt happy of all men before him, becauſe in ſuch glory he died young, and had his acts ſet forth by ſuch a one as *Homer* was. From thence he paſſed forwards into the Dominions of *Darius* King of *Perſia*, who being the ſon of *Arſanus*, and the fourteenth King after *Cyrus*, had the poſſeſſion of the Monarchy of the whole Eaſtern part of the world. The chiefeſt cauſe that moved *Alexander* to invade him was to be revenged of the dammages and deſtructions wherewith the Predeceſſours of *Darius* had afflicted the Countrey of *Greece*, and alſo for demanding Tribute of *Philip* his Father, for the which he ſent a proud and preſumptuous Embaſſage, calling himſelf the King of Kings, and Kinſman of the Gods. Laſtly, he had written to *Alexander*, and called him his Vaſſall, and gave Commiſſion to his Lievtenants, that they ſhould beat that mad boy (the ſon of *Philip*) with reds, and afterwards bring him to his preſence in Kings apparel: and furthermore, that they ſhould ſink both ſhips and marriners, and convey all the ſouldiers that ſhould be left alive, beyond the Red Seas. They therefore purpoſing to execute the Kings Comandement, aſſembled their power at the River of *Granike*, which doth divide the Countrey of *Troy* from *Propontides*, having to the number of 20000. footmen, and as many horſemen, with whom they had taken the ground on the other ſide of the River, where *Alexander* muſt needs paſſe over, whereof when he was advertiſed, though he ſaw apparent danger in the enterpriſe, to fight in the water & the ouze againſt his enemies, who had the advantage of the higher bank, yet upon a ſingular truſt of his own good fortune, and the courage of his ſouldiers, he charged home the enemy.

At

At the first he was sore encountred, and put in great danger of repulse, but at length hee vanquished and overthrew them. In doing whereof, there neither wanted policie in himself, nor singular manhood in his men. There was slain in that battel of the Persians, 20000. foot, and two hundred and fifty horse; and of the Macedon but 34. This victory was greatly advantageous to *Alexanders* design; for thereby he won the City of *Sardys*, being the chief strength the Persians had for the mastering of the seas: Unto which City and to all the rest of the Countrey of *Lydia*, he gave liberty to live under their own laws. He got also under his possession the City of *Ephesus*, which, the fourth day after the battel, was abandoned by the Garison which Darius set there. In the mean season, there came Embassadours from *Magnetia*, and from the Triallians, proffering the delivery of their Cities. *Parmenio* was sent to them with 3000. footmen, and 200. horsemen, with which power he won *Miletum*, that made strong opposition: and marching from thence towards *Hilicarnassus*, he got all the Towns thereabouts at the first approach, and afterwards besieged *Hilicarnassus* it self, which with great travel he overcame at length, and rased it to the ground. As *Alexander* entred into *Caria*, *Ada* the Queen of that Countrey, who had been spoyled of all her Dominions by *Orontobates*, *Darius* Lievtenant (saving of one strong City called *Alinda*) met with *Alexander*, and adopted him for her son and heir. He would not refuse the name and the proffer of her liberality, but did restore to her again the command of her own City. And besides, for the memorial of her benevolence, he put the whole Country of *Caria* under her rule and subjection. From thence he marched into *Licia* and *Pamphilia*, to the intent that by getting the possession of the Sea-coasts of those countreys, he might cause the Sea power of *Darius* to be of no effect. When he had subdued the people of *Pisidia*, he entred into *Phrigia*, by which Countrey he was enforced to pass, and marched towards *Darius*, with whom he had a great desire to encounter, having understood that he was comming against him with a formidable Army.

The

The Third Book of QUINTUS CURTIUS OF The Acts of *Alexander* The Great, King of *Macedon.*

Alexander in the mean ſeaſon having ſent *Cleander* to leavy recruits out of *Peleponeſus*, eſtabliſhed the Countries of *Licia* and *Pamphilia*, and removed his army to the city of *Celena*. Through this City, there ran at the ſame time, the river of *Martia*, made famous by the Poetry of *Greece*, whoſe head ſpringing out of the top of a high mountain, and falling down upon a Rock beneath, makes almoſt deafning murmurs. It floweth from thence, and watreth the fields round about, without increaſe of any ſtream ſaving his own.

The colour whereof being like unto the calm ſea, gave occaſion to the Poets to feign how the Nymphs for the delight they took in that river, did chuſe their dwelling under that rock. So long as it runneth within compaſs of the walls it keepeth his own name, but when it commeth without, where the ſtream is more ſwift and vehement, it is then called *Lycus*. *Alexander* did enter into this Town, being forſaken of the inhabitants, and perceiving they were fled into the Caſtle, which he determined to win before he departed, he firſt ſent to ſummon them by an Herald, who declared, that except they would yeeld themſelves, they ſhould ſuffer the extremity of the law of arms. They brought the Herald into an high Tower, which was ſtrong both by nature and art, willing him to conſider the height and ſtrength thereof, and to declare unto *Alexander* that he had not a full dimention of the ſtrength of the place, for they did know it to be impregnable; and

if the worſt ſhould fall yet were they ready to die in their allegiance. Notwithſtanding their words, when it came to the point, that they ſaw themſelves beſieged, and all things were ſcarce, they took truce for 40 days, with this compoſition, that if they were not reſcued by *Darius* within that time, they would render it up into his hands: which they did afterwards at the day appointed, when they ſaw no ſuccours coming. To that place there came Embaſſadours to him from *Athens*, making requeſt that ſuch of their City as were taken priſoners at the battel fought upon the river of *Granike*, might be reſtored to them. To whom anſwer was made, that when the wars of *Perſia* were once brought to an end, both theirs and all others that were Greeks, ſhould be reſtored to their liberty. *Alexander* had his preſent care and reſolution always upon *Darius*, who he knew not yet paſſed the river *Euphrates*. He aſſembled therefore all his powers together, purpoſing to adventure the hazard of the battel. The Country was called *Phrygia* that he paſſed through, plentifull of Villages but ſcarce of Cities, yet there was one of great antiquity called *Gordium*, the royall ſeat ſometime of King *Midas*. The river of *Sangary* doth run through it, and it ſtandeth in the midway betwixt the ſeas of *Pontus* and *Cilicia*: being judged to be the narroweſt part of *Aſia*, by reaſon of the ſeas which lie on both ſides, repreſenting the form of an Iſland. And if it were not for a ſmall point of land, that doth lie betwixt thoſe ſeas they would join both together. *Alexander* having brought this City under his obeyſance, entred into the Temple of *Jupiter*, where he ſaw the chariot wherein *Midas* the builder of the City was accuſtomed to ride. The ſame in the furniture and outward appearance differed little from other common chariots, but there was in it a thing notable, which was a Cord folded and knit with many knots, one ſo intricate within another that no man could perceive the manner of it, neither where the knots began nor where they ended. Hereupon the Country men had a propheſie, that he ſhould be Lord of all *Aſia*, that could undo that endleſſe knot. This was a matter which poſſeſt the King with a marvellous deſire to become the fullfiller of the Propheſie. There ſtood a great number about him both of Phrygians and of Macedons, the one part of them expecting the event, and the other fearing the raſh preſumption of their King, for as much as they could perceive by no reaſon how the knot ſhould be undone. The King himſelf alſo doubting that the failing of his purpoſe in that matter, might be taken as a token of his evill

evil fortune to come, after he had considered the thing; What is the matter (quoth he) which way it be undone, and striving no longer how to unknit it, he with his sword cut the cords asunder, thereby either illuding or else fullfilling the effect of the Propheſie.

This being done, *Alexander* purposed to find out *Darius* whereſoever hee were, and to the intent to leave all things clear behind his back, he made *Amphiterus* Captain of his Navy upon the coast of *Helleſpont*, committing the charge of the Field-army to *Egilochus*: They two had commiſſion, to deliver the Islands of *Lesbos*, *Scios*, and *Coos*, from the hands of the Perſians, and for the proviſion of their charges, had appointed to them fifty Talents, and sent to *Antipater* and ſuch others who had the governance of the Cities of *Greece*, ſixty Talents. He gave order that ſuch as were his confederates, ſhould with their own power of ſhips defend the ſeas of *Helleſpont*, according to the league betwixt them. It was not yet come to his knowledge that *Memnon* was dead, whom he moſt ſuſpected, well knowing that if he moved not againſt him, no man ſhould be his ſtop before he came to *Darius*. *Alexander* came to the City of *Ancira*, where he made his muſters, and ſo entred into *Paphlagonia*, whereunto the Grecians be borderers, of whom it is ſaid the *Veneti* in *Germany* are deſcended. All this country ſubmitted to him, and gave him pledges, being excuſed from Tribute, ſeeing they never paid any to the Perſians. *Calas* was Captain there, who taking with him the band of ſouldiers that were lately come out of *Macedon*, marched into *Cappadocia*. But *Darius* hearing of the death of *Memnon*, was no leſſe moved therewith then the caſe required, for then all other hope ſet apart, he determined to trie the matter in perſon: For he condemned all things that had been done by his Deputies, beleeving Courage and Conduct to be wanting in many of them, and that Fortune had failed in them all: He came therefore to *Babylon*, where he encamped, and aſſembled all his forces together in ſight of the City, becauſe he would ſhew the greater courage: and uſing the enſample of *Xerxes* in taking of his muſters, he entrenched ſo much ground about as was able to receive ten thouſand men, within the which he lodged in the night ſuch as had been muſtered in the day, and from thence they were beſtowed abroad in the plain Country of *Meſopotamia*. The number of his horſemen and footmen were innumerable, and they yet ſeemed in ſight to be more then they were. There were of the Perſians an hundred thou-

ſand, of whom thirty thouſand were horſemen. Of the Medians ten thouſand horſemen, and thirty thouſand footmen. Of the Bactrians two thouſand horſemen with broad ſwords and light bucklers, and ten thouſand footmen with like weapons. There were of the Armenians fourty thouſand footmen, and ſeven thouſand horſemen. The Hircanians, of great eſtimation amongſt thoſe Nations, had ſix thouſand horſemen. The Dervicens were fourty thouſand footmen armed with pikes, whereof part had no heads of Iron, but the points of them dried in the fire; there were alſo of the ſame Nation two thouſand horſemen. There came from the Caſpian Sea eight thouſand footmen, and two hundred horſemen. And with them of the rude nations of *Aſia*, two thouſand footmen, and four thouſand horſemen. To the increaſe of theſe numbers, there were thirty thouſand mercenary ſouldiers that were Greeks. Haſt would not ſuffer to call for the Arachoſians, Sogdians, and Indians, with others the inhabitants of the Red Sea, Nations which had names ſcarcely known to their own King. Thus *Darius* wanting nothing leſs then the multitude of men, greatly rejoycing to behold them, and puffed up with the vanity and flattery of the great men which were about him, turned to *Charidemus* of *Athens*, an expert Man of War (who for the diſpleaſure that *Alexander* did bear him, was baniſhed the Country) and asked him if he thought not that company ſufficient to overthrow the Macedons? Whereat *Charidemus* without reſpect of the Kings pride, or of his own eſtate, anſwered. Peradventure, Sir, you will not be content to hear the truth, and except I tell it preſently, it ſhall be too late heereafter. This great preparation, and mighty Army of yours, gathered of the multitudes of ſo many Nations, raiſed up from all parts of the Orient, is more fearfull to the inhabiters hereabouts, then terrible to your enemies. Your men ſhine in Colours, and gliſter in Armour of Gold, exceeding ſo much in riches, that they which have not ſeen them with their eyes, cannot conceive any ſuch thing in their minds. But contrariwiſe, the Macedons being rough ſouldiers, without any ſuch exceſs, be terrible to behold: The Fronts of their battels ſtand cloſe together, alwayes in ſtrength, furniſhed with Pikes and Targets for defence: That which they call the *Phalanx* is an immoveable ſquare of Foot, wherein every Band ſtand cloſe to each other, joining weapon to weapon. Every ſouldier is obedient to that which is commanded, ready at his Captains call, whether it be to follow his Enſign, to keep his array,

ray, to ſtand ſtill, to run, to fetch a compaſs, to change the order of the battel, to fight on this ſide, or that ſide; Every ſouldier can do theſe things as well as the Captains. And becauſe you ſhall not think Gold and Silver to be ſo effectual to this matter, they began and obſerved this diſcipline, Poverty being Maſter; When they be weary, the ground is their bed, they are ſatisfied with ſuch meat as they find by chance, and they meaſure not their ſleep by the length of the night. Think you the horſemen of *Theſſaly*, the Achaians and Ætolians, which be invincible men of War, will be repulſed with ſlings or ſtaves burned in the fire? It behoveth you to have like force to oppoſe, and to be ſerved of the ſame condition of men. My counſel is therefore, that you ſend this Gold and Silver to levie ſouldiers out of thoſe countreys from whence they come.

Darius was a man of a mild and tractable diſpoſition, if the height of his eſtate had not altered the goodneſs of his nature, which made him ſo impatient to hear the truth, that he commanded *Charidemus* to be put ſtraightways to death, being a man that was fled to his protection, and that had given him right profitable counſel. When he was going towards his death, he left not his liberty to ſpeak, but ſaid; There is one at hand that ſhall revenge my death; for he againſt whom I have given thee counſel, ſhall puniſh thee for not following my adviſe; And thou being thus altered with the liberties thou haſt, being now a King, ſhalt be an example to ſuch as ſhall come after, that when they commit themſelves to Fortune, they clearly forget their names. Whileſt *Charidemus* was ſpeaking of theſe words, they which had the charge committed unto them, did put him unto death, whereof the King afterwards took overlate repentance, confeſſing him to have ſpoken the truth, and cauſed him to be buried. There was one *Thymones* the ſon of *Mentor*, a young man of great activity, to whom *Darius* gave the charge of all the forreign ſouldiers (in whom he had great confidence) willing him to receive them at *Pharnabaſus* hands, and gave to *Pharnabaſus* the rule that *Memnon* had before.

Thus *Darius* being carefull of the great buſineſſe he had in hand, whether it were through penſiveneſs of mind, or that his fancy did divine things to come, was continually troubled with viſions in his ſleep. He dreamed that the Macedons Camp was on fire. And ſhortly after it ſeemed to him that *Alexander* was brought to his preſence in ſuch kind of apparel as he himſelf did wear when he was firſt choſen King,

and that *Alexander* ſhould be carried on horſeback through *Babylon*, and ſo vaniſh out of ſight. Hereupon the interpreters of dreams, betokened good fortune to himſelf, becauſe of the fire that ſeemed to be in his enemies Camp, and for that *Alexander* without any veſture of a King appeared in the vulgar apparel of the Perſians. Others did interpret it otherwiſe, that the lightning in the Macedons Camp, ſignified glory and victory to *Alexander*, and alſo the enjoyment of the Empire of *Aſia*, which they made more clear, forasmuch as *Alexander* appeared in the ſame veſtures that *Darius* did wear when he was choſen King. Care beſides, and auxity of mind (as it often chanceth) brought things paſt again to remembrance.

It was rehearſed how *Darius* in the beginning of his reign changed the ſcabard of his ſword from the Perſian manner, into the the faſhion that the Greeks uſed. Whereupon the Caldees did prognoſticate, that the Kingdome of the Perſians ſhould be tranſlated to thoſe whoſe faſhion he had counterfeited. Notwithſtanding being glad of the interpretation of the Diviners, which was every where publiſhed concerning his ſucceſs, and of the viſion that he ſeemed to have ſeen in his ſleep, he commanded his army to march forwards towards the river of *Euphrates*. It was the ancient cuſtome amongſt the Perſians, at ſun riſing to raiſe their Camp, and a warning of their ſetting forwards, to be given by the ſound of a Trumpet at the Kings Pavillion, upon which there ſtood the image of the Sun, incloſed in Chriſtal ſhining ſo bright, that it might be ſeen throughout the Camp. The order of their marching was in this manner. The fire which they call holy and eternall, was carried before, on ſilver altars, next to them were the Diviners, ſinging after their Countrey manner. There followed 300 and 65, young men in ſcarlet robes, like in number unto the days of the year. Then came the Chariot conſecrated to *Jupiter*, drawn with white horſes, and a great horſe following, which they call the horſe of the Sun. Such as did ride upon the Palfreys did wear white garments, bearing rods of gold in their hands. Next in order came ten chariots, garniſhed and wrought with ſilver and gold. The horſemen of twelve nations followed in ſundry ſorts of armour. Then came a company that the Perſians called immortal, the riches of whoſe apparel exceeded far the reſt, they had all chains of gold, coats embroidered with gold, and ſleeves ſet with Pearl. Theſe were followed within a ſmall diſtance, by a band of fifteen thouſand ſouldiers called *Doryphorij*, reputed for the Kings kinſmen

man, and apparelled almoſt like women, more notable for variety of the riches of their garments, then the armour they did wear. Such as were wont to receive the Kings robes did ride next before the chariot, upon the which *Darius* did ſit on high, with great Pomp and Magnificence: his chariot being garniſhed on both ſides with carved images of their Gods made of ſilver and gold. The Beams whereof were ſet with pearls and precious ſtones, with two images of gold ſtanding thereupon, of a cubit length, one oppoſite to the other, and over their heads an Eagle of gold diſplayed. But amongſt the reſt, the Kings apparel ſeemed marvellouſly ſumptuous, which was of Purple empaled white, with a border imbroidered of gold, and golden Falcons ſo wrought as if they were fighting together. He was girt effeminately with a girdle of gold, and the ſword that hung thereupon had a ſcabard of Pearl, the Diadem which he did wear upon his head called by the Perſians *Cydaris*, had a roll about it of white and green. Next behind the King came ten thouſand horſemen, who had all their ſpears plated with ſilver, and their ſpear-heads guilded. He was encloſed on both ſides with two hundred of the bloud-royal, at whoſe backs there followed thirty thouſand footmen, and after them four hundred of the Kings courſers. Within the diſtance of one furlong. *Siſygambis* the mother of *Darius*, was carried in one chariot and his wife in another, the train of their women riding on horſeback. Next to them went fifteen chariots, wherein the Kings children were carried, and their Nurſes and the Eunuches, which are greatly eſteemed in that countrey. After them followed three hundred of the Kings Concubines all apparelled like Queens. Then came ſix hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, that carried the Kings treaſure guarded with a band of Archers. The wives of the Kings kinſmen and the other that were about the King came riding next, and after them a great company of ſlaves and varlets: Laſt, came the rereward lightly armed, whereof every Captain ſeverally with his own company cloſed the army: ſuch was the order of *Darius* hoſt. But on the other ſide beholding *Alexanders* army, there was to be ſeen a great difference. Neither the men nor the horſe glittered ſo with gold and precious furnitures, but onely with the brightneſs of their Harneſs. They were obedient at their Captains command, always in a readineſs to ſtay or to advance, neither oppreſſed with the multitude, nor peſtred with too much baggage. They wanted not in any place either ground for their encamping, or victuals for their feeding,

ing, whereby their ſmall number was always ſufficient when they came to fight. Whereas *Darius* the Lord of ſo huge a multitude, through the ſtraitneſs of the ground, wherein he was driven to give battel, was compelled to uſe the fewneſs of men, which he before had deſpiſed in the enemy. *Alexander* appointed to *Abiſtamines* the rule of *Cappadocia*, and marching with his army towards *Cilicia*, came to the place called *Cyrus* Camp, becauſe *Cyrus* lodged there, when he paſſed into *Licia* againſt King *Crœſus*, This place was diſtant about fifty Furlongs from the ſtreight entring into *Cilicia*. The Countrey men uſe to call thoſe ſtreights *Pylæ*, where the natural ſcituation of the place had made a fortification, as it were with mans hands: when *Arſenes* Governour of *Cilicia*, underſtood of *Alexanders* comming, remembring what *Memnon* perſwaded in the beginninng of the wars, he put it in execution when it was too late, waſting and deſtroying throughout *Cilicia* all ſuch things as he thought might ſtand his enemy inſtead, leaving the Country waſt, which he thought he was not able to defend: whereas it had been much better to have taken the ſtreight before his enemies, where from the hills lying over the way, he might without hazard have hindred his entry, or have diſtreſſed his paſſage. But he leaving a ſmall number for the defence of the Streight retired himſelf back to waſt the Country, which his part had been to defend from deſtruction. By his departure it came to paſſe, that ſuch as he left behind thinking themſelves betrayed, would not ſo much as abide the ſight of their enemies, when a much leſſe number had been ſufficient to have kept the paſſage. For the ſcituation of *Cilicia* is ſuch, that it is environed about with a continual rough and ſteep mountain, which riſing from the ſea on the one ſide, and, fetching a compaſſe about, joyneth again with the ſea on the other ſide. Through the part of the mountain which lieth furtheſt from the ſea is plain and full of rivers, amongſt the which, two are moſt famous, *Pyramus* and *Cydnus*, but *Cydnus* moſt eſpecial, not ſo much for its greatneſs as the clearneſs of the water, which from his firſt ſpring runneth clearly through all the Countrey, and hath no other river running into him to diſturb the pureneſs of the ſtream. For which cauſe it remaineth alwayes clear and cold, by reaſon of the Woods that do ſhadow all the banks. Time hath conſumed many antiquitites within that Country, which are remembred of the Poets. There may yet be ſeen the foundations of the Cities of *Lirneſſus* and *Cebeſtus*, with the Cave and Grove *Corycian*, where Saffron groweth

eth, with many other things, whereof nothing now remaineth but onely their name.

When *Alexander* entred the Straights before mentioned, and beheld the ſcituation of them, he never in all his life marvelled more at his own felicity, confeſſing that it had not been poſſible for him to have paſſed, if any had ſtood at defence againſt him: for that with ſtones onely he might have been overwhelmed, the Straight beſides being ſo narrow, that there could not paſſe about four in front; to the increaſe of which difficulty, the tops of the Mountaines hung over the way, which in many places was broken and hollow with the ſtreams that ran down from the Hills. *Alexander* ſent the Thracians that were light armed, to ſcour and diſcover the wayes, for fear the enemies ſhould lie there in ambuſh, and ſuddenly break forth upon him; He appointed alſo a band of Archers to take the top of the Hill, which were willed ſo to march, that they might be alwayes in a readineſs to fight. After this manner he came to the City of *Tarſus*, which was ſet on fire by the Perſians, becauſe that *Alexander* ſhould find no harbour there: but *Parmenio* was ſent thither with a choiſe number of horſemen to quench the fire; who underſtanding that the enemies were fled away at the news of their comming, entered into the City, and by that means ſaved it from burning.

The River of *Cydnus* ſpoken of before, did run through this City, where the King arrived about mid-day, it being in the Summer ſeaſon, at what time the heat is no where more violent then in that Countrey. He took ſuch delight in the pleaſantneſs of the water, that he would needs bathe his body therein, to waſh away the ſweat and duſt thereof: And being very hot, he entred naked into the water in the ſight of all his ſouldiers, thinking it ſhould be a contentation to them, to ſee that the Garments about his body were no other but ſuch as they commonly uſed themſelves to wear.

He was no ſooner entred, but all the parts of his body began to ſhake and tremble, his face waxed pale, and the lively heat was mortified in all parts of his body: His ſervants took him up, and carried him into his tent as one beſides himſelf, and at the extream point of death. Then here was a great deſolation and heavineſs in the Camp, they wept, lamented and bewailed that ſuch a King, ſo noble a Captain as had not been ſeen in any Age, ſhould be thus taken from them in the the height of his enterpriſe, and after ſuch a manner, not in Battel

ſlain by his enemies, but bathing in a River. It grieved them that *Darius* now being at hand, ſhould obtain the victory by ſuch a chance, without ſeeing of his enemy, and that they ſhould be enforced to return back again as men vanquiſhed by thoſe countries through which they had paſſed before as Conquerours, in which countreys all things being deſtroyed by themſelves, or by their enemies, they muſt of neceſſity die for hunger, though no man ſhould purſue them. It became a queſtion amongſt themſelves who ſhould be their Captain in flying away? or what he were that durſt ſucceed *Alexander*? and though they might ſafely arrive at the ſea of *Helleſpont*, yet who ſhould prepare them paſſage there? When they had diſputed theſe queſtions, their argument by and by was turned into compaſſion towards their Prince, lamenting as men out of their wits, that ſuch a flower of youth, ſuch a force of courage as was in him, that the ſame their King and Companion in arms, ſhould after this manner be plucked from them.

In the mean ſeaſon *Alexander* began to draw his wind ſomewhat better, and when he came unto himſelf, he lifted up his eys, and began to know his friends that were about him; That the vehemency of his ſickneſs ſomewhat aſſwaged, was perceived in that he began to underſtand the peril he was in. But the ſolicitouſneſs of his mind was a great hinderance unto his health; for tidings came that *Darius* within five days would be in *Cilicia*. He could not but take it grievouſly, that ſuch a victory ſhould be plucked out of his hands through his infirmity, and that he ſhould be taken as one tyed in fetters, and be put to ſome ſhamefull and vile death. He called therefore to him both his friends and Phyſicians, and ſaid unto them, Ye ſee in what an extremity of condition Fortune hath ſurpriſed me; Me thinks the noyſe of mine enemies do ring in mine ears, and I who moved firſt the War, am now challenged and provoked to the Fight: When *Darius* did write to me ſuch proud Letters, he was not ignorant of mine eſtate, yet peradventure he ſhall be deceived, if I may uſe mine own mind in recovery of mine own health. My caſe requireth no ſlack medicines, nor ſlow Phyſitians, I had rather die ſtoutly once, then to conſume long time in my recovery, wherefore if there be any hope or cunning in Phyſick, let it be now ſeen, and think that I ſeek not remedy ſo much for mine own life, as I do for the care I have to encounter with mine enemies. When they heard him ſpeak theſe words, they were in great doubt of his ſudden raſhneſs, and therefore every one particularly

ly did desire him, that he would not increase his peril through any passion, but suffer himself to be ordered by the advise of his Physitians; For they alleadged, that unapproved remedies were not suspected of them without cause, seeing his enemy had gone about to corrupt such as were about him, by promising a thousand Talents to his killer; they thought no man would be so bold to make any experience of Physick upon him, which for the want of tryal thereof might in any wise give cause of suspition. There was amongst the excellent Physitians that came with *Alexander* out of *Macedon*, one *Philip* of *Acarnam*, who was preferred to him for preservation of his health, and had faithfully served him from his childhood, and therefore loved him with entire affection: He promised to provide for the King an approved remedy, but such a one as would work vehemently; but by the drinking thereof he doubted not (he said) but to expulse the force of his disease. That promise pleased no man but onely him who in the proof thereof should abide the peril, for he could abide all things better then delay. *Darius* and his power were always in his eye, and he had an assured confidence that the victory should fall on his side, if he might be able to stand in the sight of his men: the thing that onely grieved him was, that the Physitian would not minister before the third day. In the mean season *Parmenio*, whom of all his Nobility he trusted most, had exhorted him by his Letter, that he should not commit himself to the cure of *Philip*, for that he was corrupted by *Darius* with a thousand Talents, and the promise of his sister in marriage. Those Letters brought the King into great jealousie, and moved him to consider secretly with himself all those things that either fear or hope could put into his fancy. Shall I adventure (thought he) to drink this medicine? what if it be poyson? shall I not then be accounted the cause of mine own death? shall I suspect the fidelity of my Physitian? or shall I suffer mine enemy to kill me in my bed? yet were it better for me to perish by other mens treason, then thus to die through mine own faint heart. His mind being thus diversly perplexed, he would shew the contents of the Letter to no man, but sealed it with his own Ring, and laid it underneath his pillow. Two dayes were passed in these imaginations, and the third day the Physitian came to his beds side with the medicine ready made. When the King saw him, he raised up himself upon his elbow, and taking the Letter in his left hand, with the other hand took the Cup, and straightway supped it off; when he had so done, he de-

livered the Letter to *Philip* to read, and whileſt he was reading, he beheld him continually in the face, ſuppoſing that if he had been faulty ſome token would have appeared in his countenance. When *Philip* had read the Letter, he ſhewed more tokens of diſpleaſantneſs then of fear, and therewithal fell down upon his knees, and ſaid, Sir, I ſee my life doth depend upon your health, but your recovery ſhall declare that I am falſly charged with this Treaſon; therefore when by my means you ſhall get your health, I truſt you will not then deny me my life: In the mean ſeaſon lay fear aſide, and ſuffer the Phyſick to work, and to have its operation; keep your mind quiet, and ſuffer not your ſelf to be troubled with the ſuperſtitious carefulneſs of your friends, which though it proceedeth of good will, is notwithſtanding a great impediment unto your health.

His words not only ſatisfied the King, but made him to conceive perfect hope of his recovery, and ſaid unto *Philip*, If the Gods would have granted thee to adviſe with thy ſelf of a way to prove the confidence I have in thee, and the good will I bear thee, thou couldeſt never have choſen ſo good a one as this; for notwithſtanding the Letter, I drank off the Phyſick, beleeving thee to be no leſs careſull for declaration of thine own truth then for my health, and therewith gave him his hand. Yet afterwards when the medicine began to work, it was ſuch in operation, that it ſeemed to verifie *Parmenio* his accuſation, for he fainted oft, and had much labour to draw his breath: Then *Philip* left nothing unproved or undone that might ſerve for his purpoſe; he laid warm clothes to his body, and always as he fainted, revived him again with the ſweet ſavours of one thing or another: and when he perceived him once to come to himſelf, he ceaſed not to feed him with diſcourſe, and one while put him in remembrance of his Mother and Siſters, another while of the great victory that was at hand.

When the power of the Phyſick once entred into his veins, there appeared ſtraight in all parts of his body manifeſt tokens of health; Firſt quickneſs came to the ſpirits, and afterwards the body recovered his ſtrength a great deal ſooner then any man looked for. For after the third day that he had been in this ſad condition he walked in the ſight of the ſouldiers, who wonderfully rejoyced to ſee him; And they ſhewed no leſſe affection unto *Philip*, whom every one ſeverally imbraced, and gave him thanks as if he had been a God. It cannot be expreſſed, beſides that natural veneration that Macedons uſe to bear unto

their

their Prince, in what reverence they eſpecially had *Alexander*, and how fervently they loved him; They had conceived of him an opinion that he could enterpriſe nothing but that it was furthered by the Divine aſſiſtance, and Fortune was ſo favourable unto him, that his raſhneſſe was always an encreaſe of his glory; His age being ſcarcely ripe, and yet ſufficient for ſo great things, did marvellouſly ſet forth all his doings, and many things which out of the Wars would be counted lightneſs were moſt acceptable to the ſouldiers, as the exerciſing of his body amongſt them, his apparel not differing from the common ſort, with his courage and forwardneſs in the field: which gifts given him by Nature, and ſome things beſides done of policie, did get him both the love and reverence of his people. When *Darius* heard of *Alexanders* ſickneſſe, he marched towards *Euphrates*, with all the haſt he could make in the conveyance of ſo multitudinous an Army: He made there a bridge, and in fifteen dayes paſſed over it, his people having a great deſire to get into *Cilicia* before his enemy. *Alexander* had recovered his ſtrength, and was come to a City called *Solos*, which the inhabitants yeelded unto him, and for two hundred Talents obtained aſſurance: Notwithſtanding he put a Gariſon into the Caſtle, and there celebrated Playes and Triumphs which he had vowed to *Æſculapius* and *Minerva*, for the recovery of his health; where being ſo quietly given to his Sport, he ſhewed how little he eſteemed the coming of his enemies. Whilſt *Alexander* was buſied about theſe things, he received pleaſant news, how his men won a battel againſt the Perſians at *Halicarneſſus*, and that the Mindians and Cawnians with divers other Nations in thoſe parts, were brought under his obedience.

Theſe ſports being once ended, he removed, and by a bridge made over the River of *Pyramus*, he came to the City of *Malon*, and from thence with another motion came to a Town called *Caſtabulum*. There *Parmenio* returned to the King, who had been ſent to ſearch the Streights that lay between them and the City of *Iſſum*. He had prevented the Perſians at that Paſſage, and ſo leaving men for the defence thereof, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the City of *Iſſum* that was left deſolate. He departed from thence, and did drive the Perſians out of the Mountains, ſearching and clearing all the wayes: ſo that having made all things ſure for the Army to paſs, he returned again, both the Author of the Act, & the reporter of the thing done. *Alexander* encamped within the City of *Iſſum*, and there debated in councel whether it

were better to paſſe on further, or elſe to tarry there for a more ſure power which was comming to him out of *Macedon*. *Parmenio* was of opinion, that this place was moſt ſafe to abide *Darius* in, and to give him battel, where both the armies ſhould be of like force, by reaſon of the Streights, wherein no great multitude can fight at once. He ſhewed reaſons why they ought to eſchew the plains, wherein their enemies ſhould have great advantage through their great number, by which they might cloſe them about. Wherein (he ſaid) he doubted not his enemies ſtoutneſs, but onely feared that their own men might be overcome with wearineſs, where a multitude ſhould fight with a few, and freſh men ſucceed in the place of them that fainted. This counſel was received for good, and *Alexander* determined in the ſame place to abide his enemies.

There was in the Hoſt of the Macedons one *Syſenes* a Perſian, ſent before time from the Governour of *Ægypt* unto King *Philip*: who being advanced with reward and promotions, choſe to live out of his own Countrey, and ſo following *Alexander* into *Aſia*, was eſteemed among thoſe that the King truſted well. A ſouldier of *Greece* delivered him a letter from *Nabarzanes*, *Darius* Lievtenant, he exhorted him to do ſome notable enterpriſe, whereby he might win favour and reputation with *Darius*. *Syſenes* innocent of this matter, was divers times about to preſent the Letter to the King, but ſeeing him full of weighty affairs in providing for the battel, he prolonged the matter; And whileſt he waited for a more convenient time, he brought himſelf in ſuſpicion of treaſon. For the letter was brought to the Kings hands before it was delivered to him, who reading it did ſeal the ſame with a ſtrange ſeal, and cauſed it to be delivered to *Syſenes*, to prove thereby his fidelity. But becauſe he concealed the thing many days, and opened not the matter to the King, it ſeemed that he conſented thereunto: and therefore by the Kings commandement he was put to death by the hand of the Cretians. And now the Greek ſouldiers which *Thimones* had received of *Pharnabaſus* (being thoſe that *Darius* truſted moſt) were come to him, they perſwaded much *Darius* to retire back into the Plains of Meſopotamia, and if he would not do ſo, that at the leaſt he ſhould divide his power, and not commit the whole force of his eſtate to one ſtroke of fortune.

This counſel was not ſo diſpleaſant unto the King, as to ſuch as were about him: for they ſaid mercenary ſouldiers were always full of

of Treaſon, and were to be doubted the more for that they counſelled the army to be divided, which was for no other purpoſe but onely that they might have opportunity to fly to *Alexander*, when they ſhould have any charge committed unto them; there is nothing therefore more ſure for us (quoth they) then to encloſe them round about with our army, and to cut them in pieces for an example to the world, that Treaſon may never be left unrevenged. But *Darius*, who was of a meek and good diſpoſition, refuſed to commit ſo cruel an act, in ſlaying ſuch as had betaken themſelves to his truſt: For he ſaid, if we ſhould defile our hands with their bloud, what ſtrange nation would ever then commit themſelves into our hands? and alledged, that there ought no man to loſe his life for giving fooliſh counſel; for who would be bold to give counſel, if in counſelling there ſhould be any peril? I call you (quoth he) to counſel dayly, and hear the diverſity of your opinions, and miſtruſt not them that give me not alwayes the beſt counſel. He cauſed the Greeks to be anſwered, that he gave them thanks for their good will: but in returning back, he ſaid, that he ſhould give up his countrey into his enemies hands, which was not convenient. And conſidering the force that Fame is of in war, in going back (he alledged) he ſhould appear to fly: But to defer the fight he thought it worſt of all, ſeeing ſo great an army as he had (the Winter then approaching) could not be victualled in a deſolate Countrey, that had been waſted both by themſelves and by their enemies. And for the dividing of his power, he ſhewed that he could not do it, obſerving the cuſtome of his Predeceſſours, who were not wont to hazard the battel, but with all their power. He declared, that *Alexander* before his comming ſeemed terrible to the world, and through his abſence was brought into a vain preſumption; but after he ſaw him come forwards, he became wary and well adviſed, hiding himſelf in the ſtraights of the mountains, like thoſe coward Beaſts, who hearing the noiſe of the paſſengers, do hide themſelves in the dens of the woods. He hath deluded his ſouldiers (quoth he) with his counterfeit ſickneſſe, but now I will not ſuffer him to prolong the fight any longer, which if he will refuſe, I will oppreſs him in his lurking holes.

Theſe words he ſpake with greater oſtentation then Truth, and ſent his Treaſure and Jewels with a ſmall Convoy to *Damaſcus* in *Syria*, and entred with his army into *Cilicia*, bringing with him according to his Countrey manner, both his mother, his wife, his little ſon and his daugh-

daughter. It ſo chanced that on the ſame night, in which *Alexander* was come to the ſtreight entring into *Syria*. *Darius* came to the place which they call *Pyla Amanica*: the Perſians not doubting at all but that the Macedons would have forſaken the City of *Iſſum*, and flye away for fear, For certain of them that were weak and could not follow the army were taken, whom *Darius* through inſtigation of the great men about him, raging in barbarous cruelty, cauſed their hands to be cut off, and the men to be led about his Camp, to the intent they might behold the multitude of his army, and after ſufficient view taken, he let them go to declare to *Alexander* what they had ſeen. *Darius* removed and paſſed the river of *Pyramus*, purpoſing to purſue after the *Macedons* which he thought had been flying away. They who had their hands cut off came running in amongſt the Macedons, informing that *Darius* was advancing in great haſt and fury. There was ſcarcely any credence given to their words; but to be more certain of it, *Alexander* ſent ſpies towards the ſea coaſt, to know whether *Darius* were there in perſon, or elſe had ſent ſome other to make a ſhew of a power. The Spies returning advertiſed that his whole army was at hand, & ſtraight way the fires might be ſeen, which gave ſuch a ſhew (by reaſon they lay ſtragling ſo far abroad to get forrage) as though the whole country had been one fire.

When *Alexander* was aſcertained of the truth, he incamped in the ſame place where the tidings came unto him, being marvellouſly glad becauſe he knew he ſhould fight, eſpecially in the ſtreights, being the thing he had always moſt deſired. But as it is commonly ſeen, when danger and extremity is at hand, that confidence is turned into fear, So now he doubted not without great cauſe, that fortune might change upon him, by whoſe favour he had done ſo great acts, and conſidered her mutability by ſuch things as ſhe had taken from others, and given unto him. He ſaw there was now no prorogation of the time, but that after one night paſſed, the victory ſhould be determined. On the other ſide he called to remembrance that the honour of the victory was a reward that far exceeded the adventure. And as it was doubtfull whether he ſhould overcome or no, ſo he was certain if overcome to die with honour and perpetual Glory. When he had weighed theſe things he gave order that the ſouldiers ſhould refreſh themſelves, and at the third watch be armed in a readineſs to advance. He himſelf went up into the top of a mountain with many lights and torches about him

him, where he made ſacrifice unto the Gods after his Countrey manner. And when the hour was come, he appointed the ſouldiers at the third ſound of the trumpet, they ſhould be in a readineſs to march out to fight. Exhortation was then given unto them, to paſs on with courage and confidence, and by the break of day they were come to the ſtreights, wherein their purpoſe was to prevent *Darius*. By that time ſuch as were ſent before to ſcour the Countrey, came in, and reported that the Perſians were within thirty Furlongs. The battels were then ſtayed and ſet in ſuch order as they ſhould fight. As *Alexander* was advertiſed of *Darius*, ſo was he advertiſed of *Alexander* by the Peaſants of the Countrey, who came fearfully running unto him, declaring that *Alexander* was at hand. Theſe words were not believed for they could not think them to be comming, whom they thought before to be fled. But when they perceived that it was ſo indeed, becauſe they were in better order to purſue their enemies, then to encounter them in battel, they were ſtruck with a marvellous ſudden fear. Every man took him to his armour in haſt; which haſt, and the calling that one made upon an other, did greatly amaze them. Some ranne up to the tops of the hills to view the Macedons, others fell to brideling their horſes, ſo that the Hoſt full of diverſity, and not ruled by any certain government, with their hurley burley did put all things out of order. *Darius* at firſt had appointed one part of his power to take the mountains, who ſetting upon his enemies backs, might encloſe them both behind and before: and aſſigned another company to paſs along the ſea-ſide, which was on the right hand to keep his enemies doing on every part. He gave order alſo that twenty thouſand footmen with a band of Archers, ſhould paſs the river of *Pyramus* and give an onſet that way. But if they found any impediment why they might not do ſo, then he willed them to retire into the mountains, and invade their enemies on their backs. But fortune which was of greater force then any pollicy, determined thoſe things that were well deviſed, according as ſhe thought good. For ſome durſt not for fear execute the thing that was commanded them, and then the reſt laboured in vain: for where the members fail the whole body is confounded. The order of *Darius* army ſtood thus aranged to fight: his power was divided into two battels, one marching on the left hand, the other on the right. *Nabarzanes* impaled the battel on the right hand with a great power of horſemen, and thirty thouſand Slingers and Archers.

Thymones was alſo in the battel with thirty thouſand mercenary Greeks, being in very deed *Darius* chiefeſt force, a power equal unto the *Phalanx* of the Macedons. In the battel on the left hand *Ariſtomenes* was in the forefront with thirty thouſand footmen, having planted for his ſuccour and relief, ſuch nations as were counted moſt valiant. There were about the King, being alſo in the battel, three thouſand choiſe horſemen that were of the ordinary guard of his perſon, and forty thouſand footmen, with the horſemen of *Hercania* and *Media*, and the horſemen of other Nations were wings on both ſides: And beſides theſe numbers, there went before his battel in a forlorn hope, ſix thouſand ſlingers and caſters of Darts. All the plain ground between the Streights was filled with men of war, *Darius* battel ſtood thus arranged from the mountain down to the ſea ſide. The mother and wife of *Darius*, with all the women, were received in the middeſt of the battel. *Alexander* on the other ſide ſet his ſquare battel of footmen called the *Phalanx* (being the Macedons chiefeſt force) in the forefront: *Nicanor* the ſon of *Parmenio* was Captain of the battel on the right hand, and with him, *Cenos* and *Perdicas*, *Meleager*, *Ptolomeus*, and *Amintas*, every one a Collonel of his own Regiment. *Parmenio* and *Craterus* had the rule of the battel on the left hand, which ſtretched towards the Sea, but *Parmenio* had the chief charge. The Horſemen were ſet in wings to both thoſe battels; the Macedons & Theſſalian horſemen being appointed to the right hand battel, and the horſemen of *Peloponeſus* to the battel on the other ſide, before which battel there were alſo ſet ſlingers, with archers among them, and the Cretians that were lightly armed advanced before the main battel. The Band of Agrians that were lately come out of *Greece*, were aſſigned to encounter with thoſe that *Darius* had ſent to take the top of the mountain. He willed *Parmenio* that as much as might be, he ſhould ſtretch out his forces towards the ſea, and withdraw as far as he could from the hills which the Enemies had taken. But ſuch as had direction by *Darius* to take the hills, neither durſt reſiſt ſuch as came againſt them, nor yet compaſs about ſuch as were paſſed by them, but fled away at the firſt ſight of the ſlingers, which thing chanced well for *Alexander*; for it was the thing that he doubted moſt, that they from the higher ground ſhould invade the open ſide of his battel, which lay unflanked towards them. The Macedons marched 32 in a rank, for the

ſtraightneſs

ſtraightneſs of the ground would not ſuffer them to move in a broader body; but by little and little, as the plain between the mountains began to enlarge, ſo they had liberty to make their battels broader, and alſo for the horſemen to march upon the ſides.

When both the Battels were come within ſight of each other, the Perſians firſt gave a terrible and rude ſhout, which was again doubled by the Macedons, not with their number, which was far inferiour unto the Perſians, but with the rebound of the Hills and the Rocks, which doubled every voice of theirs. *Alexander* did ride up and down before the fronts of his Battels, making a ſign to his ſouldiers with his hand, that they ſhould not make too much haſte to joyn with their Enemies, for bringing themſelves out of breath; and as he paſſed by, he uſed to every Nation ſundry exhortations, as he thought convenient for their diſpoſitions and qualities; He put the Macedons in remembrance of their ancient courage, and the number of Battels that they had won in *Europe*, how that they were come thither not onely by his conduct to ſubdue *Aſia* but the uttermoſt bounds of the Orient. He ſhewed them to be the people that were ordained to conquer the world, and to paſs the bounds of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*; he declared that both *Bactria* and *India* ſhould be theirs, in reſpect of which, the countreys that they had yet ſeen were but trifles, and theſe were to be gotten all with one victory; their travel (he ſaid) ſhould not now be in vain, as it was in the barren Rocks of *Illyria*, or in the Mountains of *Thrace*; but in this conqueſt the ſpoil of the whole Orient was offered unto them, for the getting whereof they ſhould ſcarcely need to handle their ſwords, ſince the battels of their enemies wavered ſo already for fear, that with their approach onely they had almoſt put them to flight. He recalled his Father *Philip* unto their memory, how he conquered the Athenians, with the countrey of *Boetia*, how he raſed to the ground the noble City of *Thebes*: he made rehearſal to them of the battel won at the River of *Granike*, and of all the Cities that he had taken, or that had been yeelded unto him, with the countreys they had paſſed through and ſubdued. When he came unto the Greeks, he deſired them to call to mind the great wars that had been made againſt their Country in times paſt by the Perſians, firſt by the pride of *Xerxes*, and after by *Darius*, who made deſtruction both by ſea and land, in ſuch ſort that the Rivers could not ſerve them to drink, nor the earth with victuals for to eat; He rehearſed alſo how the Temples of their

Gods had been by them polluted and conſumed, their Cities overthrown, and all Truces broken, which ought to be confirmed both by divine and humane law. When he paſſed by the Illirians and Thracians, which were accuſtomed always to theft and ſpoil, he invited them to behold their enemies which gliſtered with gold, and bare no armour but ſpoil for them to take. He incouraged them to go forwards like men, and pluck the prey from thoſe effeminate women, and to make exchange of their craggy rocks and mountains full of ſnow for the plentifull grounds and lands of *Perſia*. By this time both armies were advanced within the throw of their darts, and *Darius* horſemen gave a fierce charge upon the right hand battel of the Macedons. For *Darius* deſire was to try the battel by horſemen, rightly judging, that the chiefeſt power of his enemies conſiſted in their ſquare battel of foot-men. So that the battel where *Alexander* remained, was brought to the point of being incloſed round, if he had not perceived the ſame in time, and commanding two bodies of his horſe to keep the top of the hill, he brought all the reſt of them to the incounter of his enemies. Having then drawn the Theſſalian horſemen where they ſtood to fight, he commanded their Captain to bring them about behind the battels, and there to join with *Parmenio*, to perform with courage what he ſhould appoint them.

By this time the Phalanx of the Macedons in manner encloſed about with their enemies, fought notably on all parts: but they ſtood ſo thick and were ſo joined one to another, that they wanted ſcope to wield their weapons. They were ſo mingled together that in caſting their darts they one letted another, very few lighting on their enemies, and the moſt part falling on the ground without any harm at all: wherefore being enforced to join hand to hand, they valiantly uſed the ſword. Then there was great effuſion of bloud, for both the armies cloſed ſo near, that their harneſs claſhed together, weapon againſt weapon, and foined at one anothers faces with their ſwords.

There was no place for the fearfull or the coward to flie back, but each ſet his foot to other, and by fighting kept ſtill their place, till they could make their way by force, and ſo always paſſed forwards as they had overthrown their enemies: As they were wearied and travelled thus with fighting, they were ever received with freſh enemies, and ſuch as were wounded might not depart out of the battell (as it hath been ſeen elſewhere) their enemies aſſailed them ſo fiercely before, and

and their fellows thruſt on ſo hard behind. *Alexander* that day did not onely ſuch things as pertained to a Captain, but adventured himſelf as far as any private ſouldier, coveting by all means to kill *Darius*, which he eſteemed the greateſt honour. *Darius* did ride aloft upon his Chariot, giving great provocations both for his enemies to aſſail him and for his own men to defend him. As *Oxatres* his brother appeared moſt notable amongſt them all in his furniture and perſonage, ſo in affection towards the King he exceeded far the reſt, eſpecially in that caſe of neceſſity, For when *Alexander* approached near, he thruſt in before *Darius* with the bond of horſemen, whereof he had the charge and overthrowing divers, he put many more to flight. But the Macedons, ſwarmed ſo about the King, and were in ſuch a courage by the exhortation that each made to other, that they charged again upon the band of horſemen. Then the ſlaughter was great and the overthrow manifeſt, About the chariot of *Darius* the nobleſt of his Captains lay, dying honourably in the ſight of their Prince. For juſt as they received their deaths wounds, ſo they fell without turning their backs. Amongſt them, *Atyeies*, *Romithres*, and *Sabaces* Governour of *Ægypt*, having the charge of great numbers of men were overthrown and ſlain, and about them there lay by heaps a huge number of the vulgar ſort, both of horſemen and footmen. Of the Macedons alſo ſome were ſlain, ſpecially ſuch as preſſed moſt forward: among whom the right ſhoulder of *Alexander* was lightly hurt with a ſword. In this throng the horſes that drew *Darius* chariot, were thruſt in with pikes, and growing outragious with the ſence of pain, began to ſtruggle and to overthrow their maſter. He fearing therfore to be taken alive, leaped from the chariot and was ſet upon a led horſe, and ſo fled away, caſting his Diadem from his head, that he might eſcape unknown. Then the reſt of his army were diſperſed by fear, and flying by ſuch waies as were open for them, they threw away the armor, which before they had taken for their defence, of ſuch a nature is fear, that it refuſeth the thing that ſhould be its ſafegard.

When *Parmenio* ſaw them flie, he ſtraight commanded the horſemen to purſue them, and put all his enemies to flight that were on that part. But on the other hand, the Perſians did put the Theſſalian horſemen, to a ſore diſtreſs, for at the firſt ſhock they had broken one of their troops; yet for all that they wheeled about, and rallying themſelves, they charged again the Perſians with ſo much courage, that they

ſoon brake their order, and overthrew them with a great ſlaughter. The Theſſalians had herein a great advantage, by reaſon that the Perſians, beſides that they be armed themſelves, have their horſes alſo barbed with plates of ſteel, which was the cauſe they could not on the charge or on the retreat be ſo quick as the Theſſalians were; for the Theſſalians by their celerity, wherein the force of horſemen chiefly conſiſteth, had overthrown many of them before they could turn their horſes about. When *Alexander* underſtood that his men prevailed on their enemies on that wing likewiſe, he adventured to follow in the chaſe, which he durſt not do before he knew the battel to be clearly won, and the enemies repelled on all ſides. *Alexander* had not about him above a thouſand horſemen, with whom he ſlew many thouſands of his enemies; for who is he that in an overthrow or chaſe can number men? Thoſe few Macedons did drive the multitude of their enemies before them like ſheep, and the ſame fear that cauſed them to flie ſtayed them likewiſe in their flying. The Grecians that were on *Darius* ſide, under their Captain *Amintas* (who ſometime had been in great authority with *Alexander*, but then againſt him) brake out from the reſt, and marched away in order of battel. But the Perſians fled divers wayes, ſome directly towards *Perſia*, and ſome by unfrequented wayes eſcaped by the mountains and the woods. A few there were that recovered their former Camp, which they could not defend any time againſt the Macedons who were Conquerours, but the ſame immediately was won, abounding with Gold and Silver, and moſt rich moveables, appertaining not onely to the wars, but to all voluptuouſneſs and exceſs; which riches whiles the ſouldiers violently ſpoiled, they ſtrowed the wayes full of packs and fardels, in reſpect of the covetous deſire they had to things of greater value. But when they came unto the women, as their habiliments were more precious, ſo the more violently they plucked them away, their bodies alſo were not free from their luſt and enforcement; the Camp every where was full of tumult and lamentation, as chance befel every one. The licentiouſneſs of the Victors was ſuch, that their cruelty raged upon all Ages and creatures, and no kind of miſchief wanted amongſt them. There might have been ſeen the variableneſs of Fortune, when they which had prepared *Darius* Pavilion, did now reſerve and keep the ſame for *Alexander*, as for their old Maſter: For the Macedons had left that unſpoiled, according to their ancient cuſtome, which are ever wont to receive

their

their King when he is victorious, into the Kings Pavilion that he hath vanquiſhed.

The mother and wife of *Darius*, that there were taken priſoners, moved all men to caſt their eyes and inward contemplations towards them, whereof the one deſerved to be reverenced for the Majeſty that was in her, and for her age: and the other for the excellency of her beauty, which through her miſadventure was nothing ſtained. She was found imbracing her little ſon in her arms, not yet of the age of ſix years born as an inheritour to the Dominion which his father had newly loſt. There lay alſo two young virgins in their Grand mothers lap, even then marriageable, who languiſhed and lamented not ſo much through their own private ſorrow, as for the do'ourouſneſs of the old woman. About the mother and the wife, were a great number of noble women, that pulled their hair and tore their cloths, without reſpect of what appertained to their eſtate, and unmindfull of the calamity which *Darius* wife and his mother were come unto, called them ſtill by the name of Queens, with ſuch other titles of honour as they did before. They all forgetting their own miſery, were diligent to enquire after the fortune of the field, and what ſucceſſe the battel had, in which *Darius* was in perſon, For if he were alive they could in no wiſe think themſelves priſoners. But he by the changing of many horſes, was by that time fled far away. There were ſlain of the Perſian Army, one hundred thouſand footmen, and ten thouſand horſemen, and of *Alexanders* company, onely 504 hurt, and 32 footmen, and 150 horſemen killed. So great a victory was gotten with ſo ſmall a loſſe. *Alexander* that was wearied with purſuing of *Darius*, when he perceived the night to draw on, and that there was no hope to overtake him whom he followed, returned into the Perſians Camp which a little before his comming was taken by his men. That night he made a banquet to ſuch of his friends as he was accuſtomed to invite, for the hurt on his ſhoulder, whereof the skin was but ſmally periſhed did not hinder him from the keeping of company. As they ſate at meat, ſuddenly they heard a pitifull cry, with a ſtrange howling and lamentation, that put them all in great fear; inſomuch that they who kept the watch about the Kings Pavilion, fearing it to be the beginning of ſome greater matter, began to arm themſelves.

The wife and mother of *Darius*, with the other Noble women newly taken priſoners, were the cauſe of this ſudden fear by lamenting

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of *Darius*, whom they ſuppoſed had been ſlain, which ſuſpicion they conceived by one of the Eunuches, who ſtanding before their Tent door, ſaw a ſouldier carry a parcel of *Darius* Diadem, which he a little before had caſt from his head. When *Alexander* underſtood their error, he wept (as it was ſaid) to conſider *Darius* misfortune, and the womens affections towards him; and for their comfort ſent to them one *Mithrenes* that betrayed *Sardis*, who was expert in the Perſian tongue, but yet conſidering that the ſight of him being a Traitor, ſhould but encreaſe their ſorrow, he ſent a noble man called *Leonatus*, to declare unto them how they were deceived, and that *Darius* was alive. He came towards the Tent where the women were, with certain men in arms, and ſent word before, that he was come thither from the King. But when ſuch as ſtood at the Tent door ſaw armed men approaching, ſuppoſing their errand had been to murther their miſtreſſes, they ran into the place where they were, and cried out, that their laſt hour was come, for the men were at hand that were ſent to kill them: the ſervants therefore that neither durſt let *Leonatus* in, nor keep him out, brought him no anſwer, but remained quietly to ſee what the event would be. When *Leonatus* had long tarried at the door, and ſaw none come forth to cal him in, he left his men without, & entered amongſt the Ladies whoſe coming unto them, before he was admitted, was the thing that frighted them moſt of all: The mother therefore and wife of *Darius* fell down at his feet, requiring him that before they were ſlain he would ſuffer them to bury *Darius* after his Countrey manner, which laſt obſervance performed, they were content (they ſaid) gladly to ſuffer death. *Leonatus* aſſured them, that both *Darius* was alive, & that there was no harm meant towards them, but that they ſhould remain in the ſame eſtate they were in before. When *Siſygambis* heard thoſe words, ſhe ſuffered her ſelf to be lifted up from the ground, and to receive ſome comfort. The next day, *Alexander* with great diligence buried the bodies of ſuch of his men as could be found, and willed the ſame to be done to the noble men of the Perſians, giving licence to *Darius* mother, to bury ſo many as ſhe lifted, after the cuſtome of her Countrey. She performed the ſame to a few that were the neareſt of her kin, according to the ability of her preſent fortune; for if ſhe ſhould have uſed the Perſian pomp therein, the Macedons might have envied it, who being Conquerours, uſed no great curioſity in the matter.

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When these Rites were performed to the dead, *Alexander* signified to the women prisoners, that he himself would come to visit them, and causing such as came with him to tarry without, he onely with *Ephestion* entred in amongst them. This *Ephestion* of all men was most dear unto *Alexander*, being brought up as his companion from his youth, and most privy with him in all things, there was none that had such liberty to speak his mind plainly to the King as he had, which he used after such sort, that he seemed to do it by no authority, but by sufferance; and as he was of like years unto him, so in personage he did somewhat excel him; wherefore the women thinking *Ephestion* to be the King, did fall down and worship him (as their Countrey manner was to do to Kings) till such time as one of the Eunuches that was taken prisoner shewed them which of them was *Alexander*; Then *Sisygambis* fell down at his feet, requiring pardon for her ignorance, for so much as she did never see him before: The King took her up by the hand, and said, Mother you be not deceived, for this is *Alexander* also; which his humility and continency of mind if he had continually observed to his latter dayes, he might have been thought much more happy then he was, when he having subdued all *Asia* from *Hellespont* to the Ocean Sea, did counterfeit the triumphs of *Bacchus*, or if that amongst the rest of his Conquests, he would have laboured to conquer his pride and his wrath, being vices in him invincible; or if in his drunkenness he would have abstained from the slaughter of his nobility, and not to have put to death those excellent men of war without judgement which helped him to conquer so many Nations: But at this time the greatness of his Fortune had not yet altered his nature, though afterwards he could not bear his victories with that vertue which he did win them, but hee behaved himself after such manner, that he exceeded in continency and compassion all the Kings that had been before his time. He entertained the two Queens, with those Virgins that were of excellent beauty, so reverently as if they had been his sisters; He not onely abstained from violation of *Darius* wife, which in beauty excelled all the women of her time, but also took great care and diligence, that none other should procure any dishonour to her, and to all the women he commanded their ornaments and apparel to be restored, so that they wanted nothing of the magnificence of their former estate, saving onely the assured confidence that creatures want in misery.

Which things conſidered by *Siſygambis*, ſhe ſaid unto the King: Sir, your goodneſs towards us doth deſerve, that we ſhould make the ſame prayer for you, that we did ſometime for *Darius*, and we perceive you worthy to ſurpaſs ſo great a King, as he was, in felicity and good fortune, who do ſo abound in juſtice and in clemency. You vouchſafe to call me by the name of Mother, and of Queen, but I confeſs my ſelf to be your hand maid. For both I conceive the greatneſs of my eſtate paſt, and feel that I can bear this preſent ſervitude. It lieth onely in your hands how we ſhall be dealt withall, and whether you will make us notable to the world, through your clemency or your cruelty. The King comforted them all he might, and willing them to be of good chear, took *Darius* ſon in his arms, at which the child was nothing afraid, having never ſeen him before, but took and embraced him about the neck. He was ſo moved with the conſtancy of the child, that he beheld *Epheſtion* and ſaid: oh that *Darius* had ſome part of this gentle diſpoſition. When he was departed from thence, he cauſed three altars to be made upon the river of *Pyramus*, and there did ſacrifice to *Iupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Minerva*, and ſo went forwards into *Syria*. He ſent *Parmenio* before to *Damaſcus* where *Darius* treaſure did remain, who underſtanding by the way that *Darius* had ſent one of his Nobles thither, fearing that for the ſmalneſs of his own number, the inhabitants of *Damaſcus* would keep him out, he determined to ſend for a greater power. But by chance one *Mardus* fell into the hands of the horſemen that *Parmenio* had ſent before to ſcour the countrey, who being brought before *Parmenio*, delivered him the Letters that the Captain of *Damaſcus* had ſent to *Alexander*, and beſides, the Letters, added of himſelf, that he doubted not but that all *Darius* riches and his treaſure, would be delivered to him at his arrival. *Parmenio* gave the charge to certain of his men, to ſecure his perſon, and then opened the letters wherein it was contained, that *Alexander* in all haſt ſhould ſend one of his Captains thither with a ſmall power. Which being known, he ſent *Mardus* back again to *Damaſcus*, with a ſmall guard to accompany him: but he eſcaped out of their hands, and came to *Damaſcus* before day light. That thing troubled *Parmenio* greatly, doubting that his enemies had laid an ambuſcado for him, and therefore he durſt not adventure in an unknown way without a guide: notwithſtanding, upon the confidence he had in the felicity of his Prince, he took ſome Peaſants of the Country to conduct him the way, who

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the fourth day brought him to the City of *Damascus*. The Captain doubting that credence should not be given to his letter, pretended to mistrust the strength of the town, and made countenance as though he would flie away. On the break of day he caused *Darius* treasure (which the Persians call Gaza) with the rest of all his precious things to be brought forth of the town, with a resolution to betray the same into the Macedons hands. There were many thousands of men and women that followed, a pitious sight to all that saw them, saving to him to whose fidelity they were committed. For he, to win himself thanks, purposed to deliver to his enemies a prey more precious then al the rest, which was such of his nobility as he had in his custody, with the wives and children of the great men that bare rule under *Darius*: and besides, the Embassadours of the Cities of *Greece*, whom *Darius* had left in his treacherous hands as in a fortress to his thinking of most security. The Persians cal those (*Gargabe*) that carry burthens upon their shoulders, & these having the carriage of things of most value, when they could not endure the cold for the frost & snow that suddenly fel, they put upon them the robes of gold & purple which they carried, together with the money, there being no man to let them. For the adversity of *Darius* caused that base sort of men to use a wretched liberty. Those kind of men seemed to *Parmenio* at the first sight to be no smal army, & therefore weighed not the matter lightly, but gave exhortation to those that were with him, as though they should have fought a sore battel, & wilsed them to put their spurs to their horses, & give the charge. Which being perceived by them that bare burthens, they fled away for fear, and so did the men of war that were with them, by such ways as they best knew. The Captain of *Damascus* counterfeiting such fear as others feared indeed, was the cause of all this confusion. The riches of *Darius* were left unguarded, & lay scattered abroad over all the fields, with the money that was prepared for the wages of so infinite a number of souldiers, as also the apparel of so many great men and noble women, with vessels & bridles of gold, pavilions adorned with regal magnificence, and Waggons full of infinite riches. A thing even sorrowfull to behold to the spoilers, if any thing could stay the covetousness of men. Was it not a pittiful thing to behold the riches that had been gathered together in so great a number of years, whiles the state of the Persians stood in that incredible height of fortune, one part thereof to be torn with bushes, and another part sunk into the mire, it being so great be-

ſides, that the hands of the ſpoilers could not ſuffice for the ſpoil. When the horſemen had overtaken them that fled, firſt they found divers women carrying their ſmall children, amongſt whom there were four virgins, the daughter of *Occhus* that reigned next before *Darius*. They before that time had ſuffered change of fortune, when the ſtate was altered from their fathers line. But this adverſity was much more grievous unto them.

There was in that number the wife of *Occhus*, the daughter of *Oxatres* that was *Darius* brother, and the wife of *Artabaſus* who was of the chief houſe of *Perſia*, with his ſon called *Ilioneus*. The wife and the ſon of *Pharnabaſus* were alſo taken, to whom *Darius* had committed the charge of all the ſea coaſts, and with them the three daughters of *Mentor*, the wife and the ſon of the noble Captain *Memnon*.

There was ſcarcely any houſe of the Nobility of *Perſia*, free from that evil adventure. There were alſo both Lacedemonians and Athenians, that contrary to the league between *Alexander* and them, took *Darius* part; amongſt the Athenians *Ariſtogiton*, *Dropides*, and *Leverres*, were of the greateſt fame and linage. And of the Lacedemonians the chiefeſt were *Periſippus*, and *Onomaſtorides*, with *Omais*, and *Callicratides*. The ſum of the coined money there taken, was two thouſand and ſixty Talents, Beſide thirty thouſand men and ſeven thouſand beaſts that carried burthens upon their backs. But the Gods did perſecute with due puniſhment the betrayer of ſuch a treaſure. For one whom he had made privy to the matter, pittying therein the eſtate of his Prince, did ſley the Traytor, and brought his head to *Darius*. A comfort not unapt in that ſeaſon to the betrayed King, for thereby he was both revenged of his enemy, and perceived that the memory due unto his eſtate, was not removed out of the hearts of his people.

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The Third Book of

QUINTUS CURTIUS

OF

The Acts of *Alexander* The Great, King of *Macedon.*

Darius who a little before was Lord of ſo great an Army, and who came unto the field carried aloft upon his Chariot, more like to triumph then to fight, fled by the places then waſt and deſart, which he before had filled with his infinite numbers of men of war. There were but few that followed him, for neither they fled all one way, nor ſuch as followed could keep pace with him that ſo often changed horſes. At length he came to *Vnchæ*, where he was received of four thouſand Greeks, who conducted him to the River of *Euphrates*, thinking all thoſe his Countries loſt in the which by his ſpeed he could not prevent the comming of *Alexander*. *Parmenio* was appointed Governour of *Syria*, and to be the keeper of the treaſure and priſoners which he took at *Damaſcus*. The Syrians could not at the firſt bear the new Government, becauſe they had not yet felt the ſcourge nf the wars, but as they revolted they were ſtraight way ſubdued, performing all that they were appointed to do. The Iſle of *Arade* was yeelded to *Alexander*, whereof *Strato* was King, that had in ſubjection all the ſea coaſt, with divers of the Iſland Countries, who being received into truſt, *Alexander* marched with his army into the City of *Marathon*. There hee received Letters from *Darius*, that put him into great choller, becauſe they were ſo arrogantly written. The ſpecial point that moved *Alexander*, was for that *Darius* writing himſelf King, did not vouchſafe to give him that title, but did write rather by way of comandement, then of requeſt, proffering for the

ome of his wife and children, ſo much money as *Macedon* could receive. For the Government of the Empire (he ſaid) he put it to his choiſe, to trie it by the ſword if he lift: But if he would be better adviſed, he willed him to be content with his own inheritance, and he would joyn in amity with him, and become his friend, in which point he was ready to enter into treaty with him. *Alexander* did write to him again after this manner.

Darius *whoſe name thou oweſt, wrought heretofore great deſtruction upon the Greeks inhabiting the coaſt of* Helleſpont, *and upon the Greek Collonies in* Jonia, *which be Greek Cities, and paſſed from thence to the Sea with a great army to make war againſt* Greece *and* Macedon. *And alſo King* Xerxes *thy Predeceſſour came to ſubdue us with infinite numbers, which being vanquiſhed in a battel on the Sea, left notwithſtanding* Mardonius *behind him in* Greece, *to deſtroy their Cities, and burn their Countreys. It is manifeſt beſides, that* Philip *my Father was ſlain by ſuch as were corrupted thereunto with your money. You undertake alwayes unjuſt wars, and being clad in arms, go about, for all that, to circumvent men with Treaſon; as thou of late, having ſuch a number of men in thy army, didſt attempt my death with the promiſe of a thouſand Talents. I am not therefore the beginner of the wars, but onely do repel ſuch injuries as be proffered me; in doing whereof, through the help of the Gods (who favour alway the right) I have brought the greater part of* Aſia *under my ſubjection: and having overcome thee in battel by force of arms, there is no cauſe that I ſhould grant thee any thing, becauſe thou haſt not obſerved towards me the Law of arms; yet if thou wilt come and ſubmit thy ſelf, I promiſe thee that I will deliver both thy mother, wife, and children: for I both know how to get the victory, and how to uſe ſuch as I overcome. But if thou feareſt to commit thy ſelf to us, I will give thee ſafe conduct to come freely. As for the reſt, when thou writeſt to me, remember that thou writeſt not onely to a King, but alſo unto him that is thy King.*

He ſent this Letter by *Therſipus*, and marched from thence into *Phenicia*, where the City of *Biblon* was yeelded unto him: and ſo came unto *Sydon*, which was a City of great Magnificence, by reaſon of the antiquity and fame of the builders. The ſame was under the Dominion of *Strato*, and ſupported by the power of *Darius*, who yeelding more by the conſtraint of the people, then of his own good will,

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was thought unworthy to reign there. *Alexander* made a Grant to *Epheſtion*, that he ſhould make ſuch a one King whom the Sydons thought moſt worthy of that honor. There were divers noble young men in that City that had familiarity with *Epheſtion*, of whom he thought to have choſen one King; but they refuſed his offer, affirming that none might enjoy that dignity except he were deſcended of the Bloud Royal. *Epheſtion* wondered at the magnanimity that was in them, in deſpiſing the thing that others ſought for by ſword and fire, and ſaid, Continue you ſtill in that vertuous mind, who are the firſt that have underſtanding how much better it is to refuſe then to receive a Kingdome: Chuſe you therefore ſuch a one of the Bloud Royal, that may remember he hath received the Rule at your hands. But when they ſaw divers gaping for it, and for the greedineſs they had to Reign, they fell to flattering of ſuch as were near to *Alexander*, they reſolved that there was none more fit for that dignity then one *Abdolominus*, who being of the ancient bloud of the Kings, for poverty was enforced to dwell in a ſmall Graunge without the City; his Honeſty was the cauſe of his Poverty, (as it is to many other) and being exerciſed in his dayly labour, he heard no noyſe of the wars that troubled all *Aſia*. They, of whom we ſpake before, came into his Garden with garments to apparel him like a King, and found him weeding of his ground, whom they ſaluted King, and ſaid, You muſt make exchange of the vileneſs of your apparel, with theſe rich Robes we here preſent you: waſh thy body that is now covered with duſt, and take upon you the heart of a King, and in this Fortune whereof you be worthy, ſhew the ſame moderation and continency you do uſe at this preſent: and when you ſhall ſit in your regal ſeat, having in your hands the power of the life and death of your people, do in no wiſe forget the eſtate you were in, when you took the Kingdome upon you, nor yet for what purpoſe you did receive it. The matter ſeemed to *Abdolominus* like a dream, who asked them if they were mad that would mock him after that manner? But when he ſaw them affirm by Oathes the thing to be in earneſt, he waſhed himſelf, and receiving the garment which was of Purple and Gold, he went with them into the Pallace.

The fame (as it is accuſtomed in ſuch a caſe) did notably ſpread abroad of this ſubject; ſome favoured the cauſe, and ſome did diſdain it, but ſuch as were rich did upbraid his poverty and baſe eſtate to ſuch as were near about *Alexander*, who cauſed the King to ſend for him,

him, and when he had long beheld his behaviour, he ſaid: your perſonage doth not diſagree from the fame of your linage. But I deſire to know with what patience you did ſuſtain your poverty. I would to God (quoth he) I could bear my proſperity in like caſe, now when I am a King. Theſe hands did get that I deſired, and having nothing, I lacked nothing. His words cauſed *Alexander* to conceive of him a marvellous good opinion, ſo that he gave unto him, not onely the riches, ſtuffe, and furniture appertaining to the King before, but alſo many things that were taken from the Perſians, adding to his Dominion all the the Countrey near about that City. In the mean ſeaſon *Amintas* who heretofore fled from *Alexander* to *Darius*, and now had eſcaped in the laſt battel, did come to *Tripolis* with four thouſand Greeks, where he inbarked, and ſailed to *Cyprus*, thinking the world to be ſuch then, that every one might enjoy what he could get, as if it had been his own inheritance. His purpoſe was to go into *Ægypt*, thinking there to become an enemy both to *Darius* and to *Alexander*, and to comply with the world according as time ſhould ſerve. To bring therefore his ſouldiers to think well of his enterprize, he declared how the Governour of *Ægypt* was ſlain in the battel, and that the Perſians left there in garriſon were but a ſmall number, of little force, and without any head, he ſhewed how the Ægyptians uſed to rebel againſt their Governours, wherefore they were ſure to be received as friends, For neceſſity (quoth he) hath inforced us to prove our fortunes, which failing us in our firſt hope, we muſt now conceive that the time to come ſhall be much better then the fortunes we now enjoy. They all agreed with one voice that he ſhould lead them where he pleaſed. Whereupon thinking not good to pretermit the occaſion, whiles they were high with hope, he conveyed them to *Ægypt* and entred the Haven at *Peluſium*, under pretence that he had been ſent thither by *Darius*. When he had got *Peluſium*, hee ſet forwards towards *Memphis*, at the fame of whoſe coming the *Ægyptians* being a light nation, and more apt to raiſe a coil then to maintain it when it was once begun, ran to him out of all their towns and villages with an intent to deſtroy al the Perſians, who notwithſtanding the fear they they were in, did not leave the defence of the Countrey, but fought with the Greeks and were put to flight.

After this victory *Amintas* beſieged *Memphis*, and his men deſtroyed ſo all the Countrey thereabouts, that they left nothing unſpoi-

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led. Whereupon *Mazeches*, though he perceived his men much amazed with the fear of their late overthrow, yet when he saw his enemies scattered abroad, and without order, being overcome with security and the pride of their late victory, he at length perswaded his men to issue out of the City, and in setting upon their enemies to recover again what they had lost. Which advice being good of it self, being thoroughly followed took most fortunate successe. For they slew at that time both *Amintas* and all his company. This punishment he suffered for the offence committed to both Princes, being neither faithfull to *Alexander* whom he forsook, nor to *Darius* to whom he fled. *Darius* Captains who escaped from the battel of *Issus*, gathering together such men as were scattered abroad, and such power beside as they could levy in *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, did attempt to recover again the Country of *Lidia*. *Antigonus* was Governour for *Alexander* there, who notwithstanding that he had taken many souldiers out of the garrisons of *Alexander*, yet he so little esteemed his enemies that he doubted not to adventure the battel. The Persians there received the like fortune they did in other places, and attempting the fight in three sundry Countries, were vanquished in them all. At the same time the Navy of the Macedons which *Alexander* had sent for out of *Greece*, meeting *Aristimones* (whom *Darius* had appointed to make war upon the coast of *Hellespont*) fought with & drowned al his ships. *Pharnabasus*, *Darius* having exacted money of the Milonians, and put a garison in *Scios*, passed into the Isle of *Andros* with a hundred ships, and from thence he sailed to *Shiphnus*, and putting men of war into all the Islands exacted of them money. The greatness of the war that was in hand between two of the most puissant Princes of *Asia* and *Europe*, did draw both *Greece* and *Crete* to arms. *Agis* the King of *Lacedemon* gathered together eight thousand Greeks that were come home out of *Cilicia*, and moved war against *Antipater*, that was Governour of *Macedonia*. The Cretians following sometime one part, and sometime another, received one while a garison of Macedons, and another while of Lacedemonians to lie amongst them. But those wars were of no great importance, for all mens eyes were fixed upon the wars that were between *Alexander* and *Darius*, whereupon all the rest did depend.

The Macedons had subdued all *Syria* and *Phenice*, *Tyre* onely excepted, which being the greatest and most notable City of all that

Countrey, ſhewed that they eſteemed themſelves worthy rather to joyn with *Alexander* as friends, then to become his ſubjects, For when he was come near unto them, and encamped upon the main land, which is divided from their City with a ſmall arm of the Sea, they ſent to him by their Embaſſadours, a Crown of Gold for a preſent, with great plenty beſides of victuals for his army. He received their gifts as from his friends, and gave gentle anſwers unto the Embaſſadors; but he ſhewed himſelf much deſirous to make ſacrifice unto *Hercules*, (whom the Tyrians ſpecially worſhipped, and the *Macedon* Kings ſuppoſed themſelves to be deſcended of him) being admoniſhed (as he ſaid) by an Oracle. The Embaſſadours made anſwer, that there was a Temple of *Hercules* without their City, in the place which they call *Paletiron*, whereas he might do ſacrifice at pleaſure. At thoſe words *Alexander* could not refrain from anger, whereunto he was much ſubject, but fell in a great paſſion.

I perceive now (quoth he) *becauſe ye dwell in an Iſland, ye truſt ſo much in the ſcituation of your City, that ye deſpiſe my land power: But I will ſhortly make you underſtand, that you are ſcituated upon the main Land; and therefore truſt to it, that if ye receive me not in, I will enter into your City by force.*

When the Embaſſadours were diſmiſſed with this anſwer, ſuch as were near about the King, perſwaded them that they ſhould not exclude him whom all *Syria* and *Phenicia* had received. But they had entertained ſuch a confidence, for that their City ſtood in the Sea, being divided eighty furlongs from the main land, that they abſolutely determined to abide the ſiege.

That Sea of theirs is much ſubject to the Southweſt wind, which at every ſtorm made the waves beat ſo high againſt the ſhore, that it would not ſuffer the Macedons to make any work for the uniting the main Land to the City, it being ſcarce poſſible to work any thing there when the weather was moſt calm. The firſt work that the Macedons began, was by and by thrown down with the vehemency of the Seas, that were driven by the wind, nor they could make any Fort ſo ſtrong within the Sea, but that it was waſhed away, and brought down by beating of the waves, and when the winds blew violently, they would bring the Seas clean over the work. There was an other difficulty no leſs then this; for by reaſon that the wals were environed about with the deepneſs of the Sea, they could raiſe no engine to ſhoot, but a far off

out of the ſhips, nor was there any ground about the City, whereupon Ladders might have bin reared againſt the walls, or approach made unto them by land. *Alexander* had no ſhips, and if he had any, and would have coveted to bring them to the walls, yet by reaſon of the unſtableneſs of the water, they might with ſhot eaſily have been kept off. But amongſt many other things, the Tyrians were wonderfully encouraged by the comming of the Embaſſadours ſent from *Carthage* to celebrate a yearly ſacrifice. For the Tyrians being the builders of *Carthage*, were ever ſince that time had in veneration of them, as their Parents and firſt Founders. Thoſe Embaſſadors exhorted them in any wiſe to continue the ſiege, and promiſed them ſhortly aid, which thing then alledged might eaſily and ſoon be done, for ſo much as at that time al the Seas were ful of the Carthaginian ſhips. Upon this encouragement they determined to abide the extremity, and placed their Engines upon the Towers and the walls, dividing their Engins amongſt the youth of the City, The Artificers, whereof the City had great pleney, were divided into work-houſes, to make all ſuch things as were neceſſary for the wars. There were deviſed certain inſtruments wherewith they might pull down the works that their enemies made, called *Harpagons*, and alſo Crows of Iron named *Corvi*, with all other things that might be invented for the defence of the Citie. But a ſtrange thing is reported, that when the Iron was put in the Forge, and blown in the fire, the ſame was ſeen to be full of drops of Bloud, which wonder the Tyrians did interpret as a token of good Fortune towards themſelves, and as a ſignifitation of deſtruction towards their enemies. A like wonder was ſeen among the Macedons; for when a certain ſouldier was breaking of his bread, drops of bloud appeared therein, Whereat *Alexander* being aſtonied, *Ariſtander* that was moſt cunning of all the Diviners, did interpret thus the matter, If the bloud had appeared outwardly, then it had ſignified evil fortune to the Macedons; but in as much as it was found within, it betokeneth deſtruction to the City they went about to conquer.

Alexander conſidering his Navy to be far from him, and that a long ſiege ſhould be an impediment to his other affairs, ſent Officers of Arms into the City, to perſwade them unto peace, whom the Tyrians againſt the law of Nations did drown in the Sea. Their unjuſt death ſtirred *Alexander* ſo much, that he then utterly determined to go forwards with the ſiege. But before he could make his approach

it was of neceſſity for him to make a Pere or Land-work, whereby they might paſs from the main Land to the City. But in the making thereof, there entred great deſpair into all mens hearts, conſidering the deepneſs of the Sea, which they ſaw not poſsible to be filled ſcarcely by any Divine power; for they thought no ſtones ſo great, no trees ſo high, nor any Countrey to have ſuch plenty, as might ſuffice for the building of a bank in ſuch a place, conſidering the ſea remained always troubled; and the narrower the place was between the City and the Land, ſo much more greater was the violence of the waters. But *Alexander* who had the policy to allure his ſouldiers to what effect hee pleaſed, declared that *Hercules* appeared unto him in his ſleep, and gave him his hand, proffering him to be his Captain and his guide for his entrance into the City: Thereunto he added the killing of his Embaſſadours, whereby they had violated and broken the Law that all Nations obſerved, and that there remained but one City which ſtayed his victory. Thereupon he divided the work amongſt his Captains, that every one might apply his own band, and put the work more forward.

There were great plenty of ſtones at hand of the ruines of the old City where *Tyre* ſtood before, and for the making of Boats and Towers, timber was brought from mount Libanus. The worke did riſe from the bottome of the ſea like a Mountain, but it was not yet brought to the High-water mark; and the further the Peer was brought from the Land unto the Sea-ward, ſo much the ſooner the Sea did ſwallow up the materials whereof the Peer was made. Whiles the Macedons were thus about their work, the Tyrians would come about them in ſmall veſſels, and give them words of reproach and ſcorn; as they were now become goodly men of War, that would be made Pioniers, and carry burthens upon their backs: and they asked them if they thought *Alexander* to be greater then the God of the Sea? But their reproach did not hinder but increaſe the chearfulneſs of the ſouldiers in their pain and travel, inſomuch that the Work in a ſhort ſpace ſurmounted above the water, and encreaſing much in breadth, approached near unto the City. Then the Tyrians ſeeing the hugeneſſe of the work, in the increaſe whereof they ſaw themſelves deceived, little thinking that it would have grown to ſuch a paſſe, in little veſſels came rowing about the Peer, and did drive the ſouldiers with ſhot from their working, and becauſe they could eaſily bring their boats ſuddenly forwards,

and

and return ſoon again, they hurt many of the Macedons without any danger to themſelves, enforcing them to leave their work, and fall to their own defence. For remedy whereof, and to avoid their enemies ſhot, they were compelled to ſtretch out beaſts skins upon poles like ſayls, and ſet thoſe between them and their enemies; and beſides, at the head of the Peer they raiſed up two Towers, from whence with ſhot and caſting of Darts, they kept off the boats that came about them.

On the other ſide, the Tyrians would land men with their boats far out of the ſight of the Camp, and kill ſuch as were carrying of ſtones. The Peaſants of *Arabia* alſo did ſet upon certain of the Macedons that were ſcattered abroad in Mount *Libanus*, where they ſlew and took divers; that was one cauſe which moved *Alexander* to divide his Army, and left he might ſeem to remain idle about the ſiege of one City, hee appointed *Perdicas* and *Craterus* to take the charge of the work he had in hand, and marched himſelf in perſon into *Arabia* with ſuch part of his power as was moſt apt for his preſent purpoſe. In the mean ſeaſon the Tyrians prepared a great ſhip laden with ſtones and gravel behind, ſo that the fore-part floted above the water, which ſhip anointed over with pitch and brimſtone, they brought ſuddenly by ſailing and force of Oars unto the Peer, and there remaining, the Marriners ſet the ſhip on fire, and then leaped into the boats which followed after to receive them. The ſhip thus ſet on fire, ſo enflamed the wood-work pertaining to the Peer, that before any reſcue could come, the fire had taken the Towers of the Peer, and all the reſt of the works that were made in the head. When they who leaped into the boats ſaw the matter take ſuch effect, they put betwixt the timber and other void places, both firebrands, and all ſuch things as might give nouriſhment and encreaſe to the fire; ſo that the towers and all the reſt being on a flame, many of the Macedons were conſumed therewith, and the reſt forſook their arms, and threw themſelves into the ſea. The Tyrians that were more deſirous to take them alive, then to kill them, with ſtaves and ſtones did ſo beat them on the hands as they were ſwimming, that for wearineſs they were glad to be taken up into their boats. The Towers were not conſumed with fire onely, for it chanced alſo the ſame day a terrible wind to riſe, which blowing from the ſea, brought the waves with ſuch violence upon the Peer, that with often beating of the ſeas, the joynts that knit the work together, began to loſe and to leave their hold.

Then

Then the water that waſhed through brake down the whole work in the middeſt, ſo that the heaps of ſtones which were before ſuſtained by the timber and earth caſt betwixt them being broke aſunder, the whole work fell to ruine, and were carried away into the Deep.

By that time *Alexander* was returned out of *Arabia*, and ſcarcely found any remainder or token, that any ſuch work had been. In that caſe (as it is ever uſed in things that chance evill) one layed the fault upon another, when indeed the violence of the ſea was the cauſe of all. *Alexander* began to make the Pere again after a new manner, the head thereof lying into the weather and the wind, and not the open ſide as it did before: ſo that the forefront always defended the reſt of the work lying behind. He encreaſed alſo the breadth thereof, to the intent the towers might be builded in the middeſt of the Pere, whereby they ſhould be leſſe ſubject to the enemies ſhot. Whole trees were put into the ſea with their tops and branches, and after great ſtones were thrown upon them. And over thoſe a new courſe of ſtone & trees and ſtone again, by which device this whole work was joined and faſtned all into one. As the Macedons were buſie to bring their work forwards, ſo the Tyrians were as diligent to invent all ſuch things, as might give impediment to their proceeding. The chief practiſe was, for a great number of them to enter into the ſea coaſt a far off out of the Macedons ſight, and ſo come diving under the water till they came unto the Peer, where with hooks they would pull the branches of the trees that appeared out of the ſtones and the other ſubſtance followed after into the deep. For the trees being diſcharged of their burthens were eaſily drawn away, and then the foundation failing, the whole work that ſtayed upon the trees fell to ruine. Amongſt theſe impediments *Alexander* ſtood in great perplexity of mind, doubting whether he ſhould continue the ſiege ſtill, or elſe depart his way. When he was in this imagination, ſuddenly his Navy arrived to *Cyprus*, and *Cleander* alſo with his ſouldiers which he had brought out of *Greece*. And having to the number of 180 ſhips, divided them into two ſquadrons, whereof he committed the one unto *Pythagoras* the King of *Cyprus*, and to *Craterus*, and took charge of the other himſelf, committing his own perſon to a Galley called *Cinquereme*, which had five oars on a ſide. The Tyrians durſt not adventure the ſea fight although they had a great Navy, but ſet all their Galleys in a front before the walls of the City, which the King aſſailed and put to diſtreſs.

The

The next day the Macedons, with their ſhips invironed the City round about, and did beat down the walls, eſpecially with ſuch engines as they call Rams. But the Tyrians ſtraight way inforced and made up their walls with ſtones that lay at hand, and raiſed up an inward wall round about the City, which might be their defence if the other failed. But their deſtruction approached on every ſide, the work was now wrought within the eaſt of a dart, and the ſhips gave the approach round about the walls, ſo that they were overlaid both by ſea and land. The Macedons had deviſed to join their Galleys, two and two together, in ſuch ſort that the foreparts met cloſe before, and the hinder parts lay far off one from the other. And over the ſpaces remaining betwixt poop and poop, they made bridges with Maſts and main yards laied betwixt Galley and Galley, faſt bound together to carry ſouldiers upon. When they had put their Galleys in this order they ſet forwards towards the City. And having rampired the ſternes for defence of the ſouldiers that were behind, they ſtood in their Galleys and did ſhoot and caſt darts againſt their enemies, without any perill or danger to themſelves. It was midnight when they had commandement to ſet forwards after this manner. As the ſhips were approaching on all parts and the Tyrians ſtood aſtonied for fear and deſperation, behold the skie was overwhelmed with dim clouds, and a ſudden darkneſs took away the light. Then the ſea by little and little waxed terrible and rough, the wind blew, raiſing the Waves, which did beat the ſhips one againſt another: the violence whereof, burſt aſunder the bands and graſpers wherewith the Galleys were faſtened together. Which done, the bridges craſhed and flew aſunder, and with the ſouldiers that ſtood upon them, fell into the ſea. There was great confuſion, for the ſhips entangled thus together, could by no means be governed in ſuch a tempeſt, the ſouldiers diſturbing the feat of the mariners and the mariners giving impediment to the office of the ſouldiers.

Thus (as it doth often happen in ſuch a caſe) the expert were obedient to the ignorant, for the ſhip-maſters that were accuſtomed to command, for fear of death were directed by others. But at length by force of rowing the Galleys recovered the ſhore, the greateſt part of them being broken and torn. It chanced at the ſame time thirty Embaſſadors to come from *Carthage* to *Tyre*, who gave more comfort then aſſiſtance to them that were beſieged. For they ſhewed how the Carthaginians

thaginians were ſo aſſailed with wars at their own doors, that they could by no means ſend them ſuccour. Inſomuch that the Syracuſans were deſtroying *Affrica* with fire and ſword, and had encamped themſelves under the very walls of *Carthage*. The Tyrians yet were not diſcomfited, for all that they were diſappointed of their ſpecial truſt, but delivered unto thoſe Embaſſadours their wives and their children to carry unto *Carthage*, thinking to continue the ſiege with greater reſolution, if the things which were moſt dear unto them were removed out of danger. There was a Tyrian who in an open aſſembly declared that *Apollo* (whom the Tyrians greatly do worſhip) had appeared to him in his ſleep, and declared to him that he had forſaken the City, and tranſformed the work that the Macedons had made, into a great wood. Hereupon though the author were of ſmall credit, yet for as much as men in fear are apt to beleeve the worſt they tied *Apolloes* Image with a golden chain, and bound faſt alſo the Altar of *Hercules* (to whom the City was dedicate) thinking by detaining of the one to keep ſafe the other. The Carthaginians in times paſt had brought that Image from *Syracuſe*, and had placed it in the head City, out of the which they were deſcended. For their cuſtome was to adorn *Tyre* with ſuch ſpoils as they had taken, no leſſe then they did *Carthage* it ſelf. They at that time would alſo have been Authors unto the Tyrians for the renuing of an old ſacrifice that had been omitted many yeares, wherein they uſed to offer up to *Saturn* a free born child, Which being rather a ſacrilege then a ſacrifice, the Carthaginians received from their firſt founders, and ſtill obſerved the ſame, till they were deſtroyed, and had not the ancient men by whom all things were governed, withſtood it, this wicked ſuperſtition had taken place, which nature and humanity doth abhor. The neceſſity that was hanging over their heads, being more effectuall then any Art or Science, practiſed not onely ſuch things as were accuſtomed for defences, but alſo found out what was never invented before. For to the diſturbance of the ſhips that approached the walls, they deviſed long rafters, to the which they faſtened graſples of Iron, and great hooks like Sithes, which let down with ropes by an Engine, either did tear the ſhips, or deſtroyed the men. They invented alſo Targets of mettle to be made fire hot, in the which they put burning ſand, and ſcalding lime, and then powred the ſame upon the Macedons that came near to the walls, being a miſchief that they feared moſt of all other. For when the hot ſand entered

tered between the harneſs and the body, there was no means to avoid it. and where it touched it burned to the bones, ſo that they were forced to throw away their harneſs, and tear away all things they had upon their bodies. Thereby they became ſubject to be hurt by their enemies, and were not in caſe to indamage them again. But ſpecially the graſplers that were let down (called *Corvi*) took violently away many of the ſouldiers that were within the ſhips. *Alexander* ſeeing the obſtinate defence of the Tyrians, was weary of the ſiege and determined to raiſe it, and to go unto *Ægypt*. For conſidering in how ſhort a ſpace he ſubdued *Aſia*, it grieved him to be detained ſo long about the walls of one City, whereby he omitted the occaſion and opportunity of greater conqueſts. But he was as much aſhamed to depart without his purpoſe, as to continue there and leave other things undone, Judging that if hee ſhould leave *Tyre* in that ſort as a witneſs that he might be withſtood, it ſhould much impair his fame, by which he had gotten more then by force. And it chanced at the ſame time, a Monſter of an exceeding bigneſs did appear, as well in the ſight of the Tyrians as the Macedons, which lying upon his back above the water, came towards the Peer, and when he had lifted up himſelf at the head of the Peer, it dived under the water again, and ſometimes appearing above, and ſometimes hiding himſelf underneath, when it came near the walls of the City, it vaniſhed out of ſight.

The ſight of this Monſter rejoyced both parties, the Macedons interpreting the ſame to be ſent them as a guide for their direction to finiſh the work. And the Tyrians divining, that *Neptune*, in revenging the uſurpations that the Macedons had made upon the ſea, would ſhortly deſtroy the work that they had made, in ſuch like ſort as he had taken away the Monſter. They upon their own imagination conceived ſuch a gladneſs, and prognoſticated to themſelves ſuch good fortune, that they fell to banqueting and drinking, and when they were well charged with wine, at the Sun-riſing they did put Garlands of flowers upon their heads, and mounted into Galleys, not onely with hope of victory, but with a triumph made before hand. It chanced at the ſame time that *Alexander* had conveyed his Navy to the contrary ſide of the City, and left upon the ſhore thirty of the ſmalleſt veſſels, of the which the Tyrians took two, and put the reſt in danger of diſtreſs, untill ſuch time as the King hearing the alarm, ſet forwards with his Navy towards that part where the cry was heard.

The firſt galley of the Macedons that came near them was a Cinquereme, the ſwifteſt of all the reſt, which when the Tyrians eſpied they came againſt her with two galleys croſſe upon her ſide, whereof the one ſtruck at her full with her ſpurn, with whom the Cinquereme grapſpled, and the other which was looſe and at-liberty fell upon her on the contrary ſide, But leaſt between them two ſhe might ſuſtain ſome damage, one of *Alexanders* Trirems, came to the reſcue with ſuch violence, that the maſter of the looſe Galley was ſtruck into the ſea. When the Tyrians ſaw that *Alexander* was come himſelf, and more of his ſhips at hand, with ſtrength of Oars and great induſtry they ſet their Galleys that were intangled looſe again & at liberty, making towards their Haven with all the haſte they could; *Alexander* immediately purſued them, but when he came to the Haven he could not enter, but was beaten off with ſhot from the walls, yet he did take and drown the moſt part of their Galleys. After this adventure he reſted his ſouldiers two days, and then commanded his ſhips to be brought forwards and the engines in them, to the intent that by aſſayling the Tyrians on all ſides, he might put them into an extream fear. *Alexander* with a wonderfull courage, not without great peril of his perſon, mounted up into the top of a tower that was made in a ſhip, and there known by his apparel and rich armor, was chiefly aſſaulted, and ſhot on from all parts. He wrought wonderfull feats with his own perſon, for both with his pike he ſlew divers that ſtood at defence, and afterwards he fought hand to hand, with his Sword and Target, throwing divers down from their defence, for the Tower wherein he fought joined hard to the walls.

By that time the Engines called Rams, with much beating having laid low the walls, the Navy was get within the Haven, and certain of the Macedons had won the Towers. The Tyrians then oppreſſed with ſo many miſeries at once, were clean diſcomfited: ſome fled unto the Temples for ſuccour, ſome did ſhut their doors taking that kind of death they liked beſt. And others ran upon their enemies to ſell their lives at the deareſt rate. But the moſt part got up into the tops of their houſes, and from thence did caſt down upon their enemies whatſoever came unto their hands. *Alexander* commanded all to be ſlain without exception, ſaving ſuch as fled into the Temples, and willed all the houſes to be ſet on fire. Though proclaimation thereof was made through the City, yet the Tyrians that bore arms could not ſave themſelves: for

for as the women and children filled the temples, ſo the men kept the entries of their houſes, ready to abide the cruelty of their enemies. Yet the Sydonians were the occaſion that many were ſayed, who ſerving in the garriſon of the Macedons, and entring the City with them, were mindfull of their affinity with the Tyrians (*Agenor* being builder of both their Cities) and conveyed many into their ſhips, which they privately ſent unto *Sydon*. By that means fifteen thouſand eſcaped the cruelty of the ſword. The number of them that were ſlain may partly be conjectured, in that there were found dead within the City, ſix thouſand of ſuch as did bear arms. The Kings anger againſt the City made the ſight dolorous even unto the Conquerors. For two thouſand whom the fury of the ſlaughter had left alive, were afterward hanged upon croſſes all along the ſea coaſt. The Embaſſadors of the Carthaginians were ſaved, but war was threatned to be made againſt them, from the which he was then hindred by other buſineſs he had in hand. Thus *Tyre* was taken the 7 moneth after it was beſieged, a City notable to poſterity, as well through the antiquity thereof, as by the often change of fortune it had ſuffered. It was builded by *Agenor* and many years was miſtreſs of the ſeas, not onely thereabouts, but in all places where their Navies were heard of, and if we may credit fame, that City was the firſt which either taught or learned letters. They builded Cities, & filled them with inhabitants throughout the greateſt part of the world, as in *Cartbage* in *Affrick*, at *Thebes* in *Boetia*, and *Cades* in *Spain* upon the Ocean. It is believed that by reaſon of their free courſe through all ſeas, and by viſiting many ſtrange Countreys, they had occaſion to look out ſeats in which to place their youth, wherewith they then abounded. Or elſe as ſome report, the inhabitants unwilling to dwell there by reaſon of many earth-quakes, were compelled by force of arms to ſeek out new dwelling places. But after many caſualties that happened unto *Tyre*, after this deſtruction being reſtored to its former height of flouriſh, it now remaineth under the protection of the Roman clemency. About the ſame time *Alexander* received letters from *Darius*, wherein at laſt he was contented to name him King.

His requeſt was that Alexander *would receive his daughter* Saptina *for his wife, with whom he offered in* Dower *all the Country between* Heleſpont, *and the river of* Alys, *and would reſerve unto himſelf onely ſuch Kingdomes as lay from thence Eaſtward. And if peradventure*

adventure he ſhould refuſe to receive this offer, he willed him to conſider that fortune is not wont to continue long in one eſtate, and that the greater felicity men injoy, the greater envy doth attend them. It was to be doubted (he ſaid) leaſt he exalted himſelf thorough ſome vain affection, like as birds uſe to do, whoſe natural lightneſſe doth convey them to the Stars. For there was nothing more difficult then in ſuch young years, to bear well ſuch height and greatneſſe of fortune. He willed him alſo to conſider, that there remained yet many countries that he had not touched, and that he ſhould not alwaies meet him in the Streights, having to paſſe the river of Euphrates, Tygre, Araxes, *and* Hydaſpes, *which were as bulwarks unto his dominion, and when he ſhould come unto the Plains he would be aſhamed of his ſmal number. He put him in remembrance how long it ſhould be ere he could paſſe* Media, Hircania, Bactria, *and the Indians that bordered on the Ocean ſea, And likewiſe the Sogdians and Arachoſians of whom men have no other knowledge then of their names onely, with other nations lying towards Mount* Caucaſus, *and the river of* Tanais. *And although no man ſhould withſtand him or give him battel, yet he ſhould grow in age (he ſaid) before he could paſſe ſo many lands. In the latter end he adviſed him not to call him forward, for he would come ſoon enough to his deſtruction.*

Alexander made anſwer to thoſe letters by the meſſengers that brought them to this effect.

That Darius *offered to him* that *which was none of his own, and made a proffer to give* that *which he had already loſt.* For *Lydia*, Ionia, Æolida, and the coaſt of *Helleſpont*, *which he appointed in* Dower *were already become the rewards of his victory. And as for laws and conditions, thoſe were wont to be given and appointed by the victors and received of ſuch as were overcome. And if he were ignorant in which of thoſe two eſtates he were, that he ſhould adventure the battel once again. For he was not ignorant, he ſaid, before he paſſed the ſea, how* Lydia *and* Cilicia *were over-ſmal rewards for the making of ſuch a war. But his determination was to ſubdue and bring under his ſubjection, both* Perſepolis *the chief City of his Empire, and alſo* Bactria, *and* Ecbatana, *with the uttermoſt bounds of the Orient. He could flie no where but he was able to follow: and therefore counſelled him that he ſhould not fright him with rivers who had learned how to paſſe Seas.*

Thus

Thus the Kings did write one to another; and in the mean ſeaſon the Rhodians yeelded their City and their Haven unto *Alexander*, who committed the rule of *Cilicia* unto *Socrates*, and the Country about *Tyre*, unto *Philotas*. *Andromachus* was made *Parmenio* his Deputy in *Caria* and *Syria*, for *Alexander* minding to accompliſh what he had begun, commanded *Epheſtion* that with his Navy hee ſhould ſail along the coaſt of *Phenicia*, and ſo he came with his whole power to the City of *Gaza*. About the ſame time there were ſolemn triumphs and plays at *Iſthmos*, accuſtomed to be celebrated by the confluence of all *Greece*. In this a Councel was had, and (as the wits of the Greeks be ſudden) they decreed to ſend twelve Embaſſadours unto *Alexander*, for the carrying unto him a Crown of Gold, in gratifying the victory he had won, & the acts he had done for the ſafeguard and liberties of *Greece*, and yet a little before they harkned how the Fame went, and were ready to bend that way that Fortune enclined. *Alexander* viſited not in perſon all ſuch Countreys and Cities as refuſed to do their obedience unto him, but made conqueſt of them by his Deputies. For *Cales* maſtered *Paphlagonia*, *Antigonus Liconia*, and *Balachrus* overcame *Idarne* who was *Darius* Lieutenant, and won *Miletum*. *Amphiterus* and *Egilochus* with a Navy of an hundred and ſixty ſhips, ſubdued all the Iſlands between *Aſia* and *Achaia*, and alſo by the conſent of the inhabitants got *Tenedos*, alwayes a receptacle of the Perſians.

They were at the point to have gotten *Scios*, but that *Pharnabaſus Darius* Deputy, having intelligence of it, did firſt apprehend all ſuch as were of the Macedons faction, and committed the City with a ſmall Garriſon to *Appolonides* and *Athenagoras*, that were enclined to the Perſians. *Alexanders* Captains for all this continued the ſiege of the City, not ſo much in truſt of their own ſtrength, as in hope of the faction they had within the City, in which they were not deceived. For through a ſedition which did ariſe between *Apolonides* and the Captains of the men of War, occaſion was miniſtred unto the Macedons to enter the Town. When the gate was broken up, and a band of Macedons entred, then the Citizens which before had deviſed to rebel againſt the Perſians, took part with *Amphiterus* and *Egilochus*, ſo that the Garriſon of the Perſians were ſlain, and *Pharnabaſus* with *Apolonides* and *Athenagoras* taken priſoners.

There were twelve Galleyes taken, with their Souldiers and Rowers,

rowers, beſides 30. ſhips and veſſels of Pyrates, with three thouſand Greeks that were in pay under the Perſians, the Greeks ſerving to recruit the forces of Macedons, and the Pyrates being put to death, the other ſhips were added to their own Fleet.

It chanced that *Ariſtonicus* the uſurper of *Methyna*, ignorant of any ſuch thing as chanced in the forepart of the night, came with certain Pyrates ſhips to enter into the Haven, of whom when the watch demanded what he was, he ſaid he was *Ariſtonicus*, and came to the ſuccour of *Pharnabaſus*. They anſwered he was at reſt, and could not then be ſpoken withal, but it ſhould be lawfull for him being their friend, to enter into the Haven for that night, and ſpeak with him when it was day. *Ariſtonicus* was the firſt that entered, and the ten Pyrate ſhips followed him. But whiles they anchored their ſhips, the watchmen drew the chain again over the haven, & then called up ſuch as lay near about them, whereupon none of them durſt reſiſt, but were all taken priſoners, and delivered to *Amphiterus* and *Egilochus*. From thence the Macedons paſſed to *Mytelene*, which was kept by *Chares* of *Athens*, with a Gariſon of two thouſand Perſians; but when he was not able to endure the ſiege, he yeelded up the City on compoſition to have their lives ſaved, and to depart to *Imbros*. *Darius* diſpairing of peace, which he thought to have obtained by his Letters and Embaſſadours, gave his mind to muſter a new army, and freſhly to renew the war. Therefore he commanded the Captains and Rulers of his men to have a Randezvouz at *Babilon*, and that *Beſſus* Governour of the Bactrians ſhould come thither with all the power he could make. The Bactrians be the moſt hardy people amongſt thoſe nations, rough men, and much abhorring from the delicateneſs of the Perſians. For by reaſon that they border upon the Scythians, which be a warlike nation, they are accuſtomed to live by ſpoil, and are converſant continually in arms. But *Beſſus* who was ſuſpected of Treaſon affecting the Kingdome, and who would not be content with a ſecond place, put *Darius* in great jealouſies, who having an inkeling that he aſpired to be King, feared his Treaſon, *Beſſus* having no other way but by that to bring his pupoſe to paſſe.

Alexander wrought all the ways he could to obtain knowledge where *Darius* was, and into what Countrey he was gone, and yet could not get any intelligence by reaſon of a cuſtome amongſt the Perſians, who are accuſtomed with a marvellous fidelity to keep cloſe their

Princes

Princes ſecrets, in the uttering whereof, neither fear of death, nor hope of reward can cauſe them to bring forth a word. This was an ancient diſcipline which the Kings there uſed amongſt their ſubjects, in puniſhing with loſſe of life the laviſhneſs of the tongue, which is there more grievouſly chaſtiſed then any other crime; Nor is there in thoſe parts any Vertue looked for at any mans hands, who hath not the gift of ſecreſie, whereof nature hath given a facility in man. This was the cauſe that *Alexander* was ignorant of all things that his enemies did, and therefore continued his ſiege before *Gaza*. *Betis* was Captain there, who was a man of notable fidelity towards his Prince, and with a ſmall Gariſon defended the City that was of a large compaſs: wherefore *Alexander* perceiving the advantage of the ſcituation, cauſed many mines to be made; for the lightneſs of the ground covered the deſign having neither rocks nor ſtones to give any impediment. They began their mines on that ſide where they within could not behold them, and to avoid the ſuſpicion of any ſuch work in hand, he cauſed an approach to be made to the Walls with Towers that he had made of timber: but the ground would not ſerve for their carrying and removing, by reaſon of the looſeneſs of the ſand, whereinto the wheels ſunk, and was the cauſe that the joynts of the Towers brake aſunder. About the carriage of them many were hurt, and much trouble they had both in withdrawing of them, and in ſerting them forwards. When he perceived he could not prevail by that means, he drew off his men for that time. But the next day he environed the City round about to give an aſſault on every part at once; and before he reurned out of his Camp, he made ſacrifice after his Countrey manner, requiring the aid of the Gods. It chanced as he was ſo doing, that a Raven flying by, let fall a clod (which ſhe carried in her claws) upon the Kings Head, where it brake and reſolved into pieces, and the Raven flew unto the next Tower, where her feathers were ſo entangled with pitch that ſhe could not fly away, but was taken by the ſtanders thereabouts. This was thought a matter worthy on which the Diviners ſhould conſult, for he himſelf was not free from the ſuperſtition of ſuch things. Therefore *Ariſtander* to whom he gave moſt credit, did interpret the ſame to be a ſign of the deſtruction of that City, but yet there was ſome peril (he ſaid) appearing towards the Kings perſon; for which cauſe he perſwaded *Alexander* that he ſhould not go about any enterpriſe that day. Though it grieved him much that one Ci-

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ty ſhould be a ſtay and impediment unto him for his free paſſage into *Ægypt*, yet he obeyed the Prognoſticators, and cauſed all his men for that day to retire. The enemies took courage at their departure, thinking fear to be the cauſe why they came not forwards, and iſſuing out of the City, they ſet upon their Rear. But they were more fierce in the beginning of the skirmiſh then conſtant in the maintaining of it; for when they ſaw the Macedons rally themſelves, they ſtayed and purſued no further. *Alexander* hearing the alarm, and quite forgetting the peril that was prophecied unto him, at his friends requeſt put on his Armour, (which he was ſeldome accuſtomed to do) and reſorted thither where the skirmiſh was moſt hot. There he was known by a certain Arabian that was one of *Darius* ſouldiers, who took upon him a deſperate enterpriſe to kill *Alexander*, and therefore making his pretence to be as a fugitive from the Perſians, kept his ſword ſecret underneath his Target, and fell down on his knees before him; Who judging that he had fled to him for ſuccour, commanded that he ſhould be received among his own men: But the Arabian therewithal made a violent thruſt at the King with his ſword, which he ſtepping aſide a little, did avoid it from his throat, and cut off the Arabians hand that miſſed of the thruſt. *Alexander* then judged that he had clean eſcaped the peril that ſhould have chanced to him that day. But (as I think) deſtiny cannot be avoided; for whiles he was eager in fight amongſt the formoſt, he was ſhot with an arrow, which paſſed through his Corſlet, and did ſtick in his ſhoulder. *Philip* his Phyſitian did pluck it out, and great aboundance of bloud did follow, whereof every man was afraid, for ſo much as they never ſaw an arrow paſs ſo far through any armour before. But he never changed countenance nor colour, but cauſing the bloud to be ſtanched, and his wound to be wrapped up, continued ſtill in the skirmiſh amongſt the foremoſt, either ſuffering or diſſembling his pain. But when the bloud that was ſtayed for the time did break out again, and the wound, which for the newneſs thereof grieved him not much, began to ſwell and rancle as the bloud waxed cold, then he began to faint and fall down, and was taken up by ſuch as were next unto him, & carried into his Tent. *Betis* that perceived this, and ſuppoſing him to be ſlain, retired unto the City with great joy and triumph. But *Alexanders* wound being yet unhealed, he cauſed a mount to be caſt up as high as the top of the walls, and the walls to be caſt down in divers places by the miners. But they within made a counterwork as high as

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the old wall, but it did not reach to the height of the Towers made upon the Mount, so that the inner parts of the City were subject to the shot of the enemy. But not long after, a mine, the wall by it being overthrown, and a breach made, through which the Macedons did enter, was the utter loss of the Town, whete *Alexander* pressing on amongst the foremost adventurously, had his leg hurt with a stone: Notwithstanding that, he mounted up by the help of his wepon (his former wound yet unclosed) and fought amongst the foremost, being in a great fury that in the siege of one City he had received two wounds. *Betis* that had fought notably, and received divers hurts, was forsaken of his own men, and notwithstanding which he maintained stil the fight, & all his armor was imbrued with his own bloud and his enemies. But when he was enclosed round, *Alexander* who was wont to wonder at the vertue of his enemies, being puffed up with an insolent joy, said unto him: *Betis* thou shalt not die as thou wouldest thy self, but whatsoever torments may be invented, beleeve that thou shalt suffer them. For all which words there appeared in *Betis* no token of fear, but he beheld the King with an undanted countenance, and would not answer him one word, whereupon *Alexander* said: See you not how obstinate he doth continue? hee will neither kneel, nor so much as desire mercy; but groans shall break his silence, if nothing else can do it. Thus his Fortune did alter his Nature, and turned his wrath into fury. For he causing cords to be put through *Betis* feet whilest he was alive, did draw him about the City with horses, glorying in that he did imitate *Achilles* (of whom he was descended) in the like affliction of his enemie. There were slain of the Persians and Arabians ten thousand, and the victory was not unbloudy to the Macedons. This siege was not so famous through the Nobility of the City, as it was by the double danger the King was in, who making hast to pass into *Ægypt*, sent *Amintas* with ten Galleys into *Macedon* to levie more souldiers; for though he were alwayes a Conquerour, yet his men were diminished, and he trusted not so much to the souldiers of those Countreys he had subdued, as he did to his own Nation. The Ægyptians be a people that alwayes were offended with the increase of the good fortune of the Persians, who in their Government over them, used much pride and covetousnes; And therefore seeking all occasions to revolt, had received *Amintas*, who came to them rather by way of treaty then by force: and now especially at *Alexanders* comming, they plucked up

their ſpirits and aſſembled a great number to meet him at *Peluſium*, where they judged he would enter.

The ſeventh day, after he removed from *Gaza*, he came to that place in *Ægypt*, which now is called *Alexanders* Camp, from whence he ſent his army unto *Peluſium* by the land way, and he himſelf with a choice band of men was conveyed thither upon the river of *Nile*. The Perſians durſt not abide his comming, being in doubt the Ægyptians would revolt. And therefore when *Alexander* drew near unto *Memphis*, where *Aſtaces*, *Darius* Lievtenant was with a power of men, he came over the river to meet *Alexander*, and yeelding himſelf, he delivered him eight hundred Talents, withall the riches belonging to the King of *Perſia*. From *Memphis* he paſſed upon the ſame river into the inward parts of *Ægypt*, and ſo ordred the government of the country that he changd nothing of their laws and cuſtomes. Which having effected, he had a great deſire to worſhip the Oracle of *Iupiter Hammon*. But it was declared unto him, that it was not poſſible for him to march with any great number, the country he had to travel through being ſpread all over with barren ſands, which being heated with the ſun, would burn their feet in ſuch ſort, that it ſhould be intollerable for them to travel, not onely with the heat and want of water, but alſo with the rowling ſand which was ſo deep, and would ſo ſink under their feet, that they ſhould not eaſily ſtir. All which difficulties the Ægyptians ſet forth to be greater then they were indeed. But *Alexander* for the vehement deſire he had to exceed the condition of man, was ſo fervently bent to viſit that famous Oracle of *Iupiter*, whom either he beleeved or deſired that others ſhould beleeve to be his father, that nothing could withhold him in performing of that enterpriſe. Therefore with ſuch as he had appointed to accompany him in the journey, he paſſed by water upon the *Nile*, untill he came to the mariſh of *Meotis*. The Embaſſadours of the Cirenians came to him thither, and brought him preſents, whom he gently entertained, aſſuring them of his friendſhip, which done he went forwards in his voyage. The firſt and the ſecond dayes travell ſeemed tollerable, not being yet come to the barren and deſolate wilderneſſe, and yet the ground they paſſed on was but unfruitfull and barren earth, but when the Plains appeared that were covered over with deep ſands, they then looked round about them and ſought for land, as men be accuſtomed to do when they ſail on the main ſea; for they could not judge themſelves on land,

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where they neither ſaw tree nor any appearance of habitation, or haunt of men. And there was no water to be found in that dry and burning place, and ſuch as they had brought with them in bottels upon Camels backs, was conſumed and ſpent. Beſides the Sun was ſo hot that it dried and burned up all things. When they were afflicted after this manner, whether it were by the will of God or by chance, the clouds ſuddenly overwhelmed the ſky, and ſo ſhadowed them that it was a great comfort unto ſuch as were wearied with the heat, though they wanted water to drink. But to ſupply their need there fell by and by a great ſhower which every man (for the great deſire he had to drink) gaped to receive with open mouth: when they had travelled four days in travelling theſe wild deſarts, and were come near unto the place of the Oracle, there appeared a great ſwarm of crows flying low before them, and when the army marched ſoftly they ſate down upon the ground, and ſometimes flew forwards as though they had been guides to ſhew unto them the way. At length they came unto the place conſecrate unto *Jupiter*, where it was a wonder to ſee in the midſt of ſo wild a deſart, a ground ſo environed on all parts with high trees, defending the heat of the ſun, and ſuch a number of ſprings running every where, which cauſed the woods always to look green. The air all ſeaſons of the year there is like unto the Spring time, wholeſome, and temperate. This Countrey doth border on the Ethiops towards the Eaſt, and upon the Arabians whom they call Troglodites upon the South: whoſe countrey ſtretched to the red ſea, It confineth on the Weſt with other Ethiops, who are called *Simnoes*. Towards the North lieth a nation called *Nalamons*, who inhabiting upon a flat ſhore are accuſtomed to live on the ſpoils of the ſea, and lie alwayes in wait upon the coaſt to ſpoil ſuch ſhips as ſuffer wrack: the people which inhabit about the wood be called Ammonians, and dwell in cottages ſcattered abroad. The midſt of their wood cloſed about with a triple wall, is unto them as a Caſtle. In the firſt Ward is the Pallace of their ancient Kings: in the ſecond their wives, children and concubines were lodged: in which place the Oracle of *Jupiter* is alſo. And the third is a place for their men of war. There is alſo another wood having a ſpring called the Fountain of the Sun, which in the morning is luke-warm, in the midſt of the day cold, and in the evening warm again, at midnight it is ſcalding hot, and as it draweth towards day it diminiſheth his heat more and more.

The ſame Effigies that is worſhipped for *Iupiter*, hath not the ſimilitude of other Images that Crafts-men do make for Gods, but is very like unto the faſhion of a Navel, having in the midſt thereof an Emerald ſet about with Pearls. When any anſwer is required, the Prieſts carry the ſame in a ſhip of Gold, that hath many plates of Silver hanging on both ſides, the Matrons and the Virgins follow after, ſinging a ſtrange ſong after their Countrey manner, whereby they beleeve they do oblige *Iupiter* to ſhew his Oracle manifeſt, and true. When *Alexander* was come unto the place, the eldeſt of the Prieſts who came to meet him, ſaluted him by the name of *Iupiters* ſon, for ſo (he ſaid) his mind was that he ſhould be called. Whereupon *Alexander* forgetting the ſtate of his mortality, ſaid, that he did both receive and acknowledge the name. Then he demanded further, if the Empire of the whole world were appointed him by Deſtiny? There the Prophet, prepared before to flattery, anſwered, That the whole world ſhould come under his obeyſance. After that, he demanded whether all ſuch had ſuffered death that had murthered his father? The Prieſt anſwered, that his father could not be harmed by the Treaſon of any man, but he ſaid that all *Philips* killers were put to death: and one thing he added more, that he ſhould be invincible till ſuch time as he ſhould depart to the Gods. Thereupon *Alexander* made ſacrifice, and both offered unto the Idol, and gave great gifts unto the Prieſts. He permitted alſo his friends to ask counſel of the Oracle for ſuch things as they would demand: Yet they enquired no further, but if it were *Iupiters* will that they ſhould worſhip their King with Divine Honours? To this it was anſwered, that if they honoured their victorious Prince as a God, it ſhould be acceptable unto *Iupiter*. If he had with judgement weighed the Oracle, he might have well perceived the untruth that was therein: but whom Fortune hath brought to beleeve in her, ſhe maketh them many times more deſirous of glory then able to receive it. *Alexander* not onely ſuffered, but commanded himſelf to be called the ſon of *Iupiter*; and whileſt he went about to encreaſe the fame of his acts, hee did corrupt and deface them with ſuch vanity; and the Macedons, accuſtomed to be governed by Kings, but yet reſerving a greater ſhadow of liberty then other Nations, did withſtand him more obſtinately in affecting of his immortality, then was either expedient for him or them; but theſe things ſhall be declared in time convenient, I will proceed to declare the reſt of his Acts.

When

When *Alexander* was returned from *Hammon*, and come to the mariſh of *Meotis*, ſcituate near unto the Iſle of *Pharos*, he viewed the nature of the place, and was at the firſt determined to build a City within the Iſland: But afterwards conſidering the Iſle not to be large enough, he choſe out the ground where *Alexandria* now ſtandeth (called by the name of the builder) containing all that ground between the Mear and the Sea, the walls whereof were in compaſs eighty furlongs. When he had taken order for the building of this City, leaving ſuch behind him as he had appointed for the performance thereof, he departed unto *Memphis*. He had a deſire (not unreaſonable if it had been in time convenient) to have ſeen both the inward parts of *Ægypt*, and alſo of *Æthiopia*, and the affection he had to view Antiquities, and the famous places of *Memnon* and *Tyron*, had near drawn him beyond the bounds of the Sun. But the wars he had in hand being of much more importance then any ſuch idle Peregrination, gave him no time to fulfil his fantaſie: therefore he appointed *Æſtilos* a Rhodian, and *Peuceſtes* a Macedon to the Government of *Ægipt*, aſſigning to them four thouſand ſouldiers for defence of the Countrey, and gave *Polymen* thirty Galleys to keep the mouth of *Nile*. He made *Apollonius* Ruler of that part of *Affrica* which joyneth unto *Ægipt*, and *Cleomines* receiver of the Tributes in both Countreys. This new City was ſoon repleniſhed with a great multitude, for commandement was given to all Countreys thereabouts, to ſend inhabiters unto *Alexandria*. It is ſaid, that when the King, according to the Macedons cuſtome, uſed the Ceremony of ſteeping Barley at the raiſing of the Walls, the Birds came and fed thereupon; which being taken by many for an unluckie token, it was anſwered by their Diviners, that there ſhould be great reſort of ſtrangers to that City, and that it ſhould give nouriſhment to many Lands. As the King went down the river of *Nile*, *Hector* the ſon of *Parmenio*, deſirous to follow him, was drowned, for the Veſſel that carried him, ſunk, being crowded with over many men; he ſtrived long with the ſtream, but his garments gave impediment to his ſwimming, ſo that his breath was near gone before he could recover the ſhore, where for want of ſuccour he died; whoſe unfortunate chance *Alexander* took grievouſly, as one that did bear him ſpecial favour, and therefore cauſed his body to be honourably buried. The death of *Andromachus*, Lieutenant of *Syria*, whom the Samaritans had burned alive, was the encreaſe of *Alexanders* ſorrow, for the revengement where-

of he made all the haſte he could, and at his comming into *Samaria*, had the authours of the act delivered into his hands, whom he put to death, and then placed *Memnon* in *Andromachus* room. He delivered into the Methinians hands, *Ariſtonicus* and *Criſolaus*, who had uſurped over them, whom they after many grievous torments did hang over their walls. That done, he gave audience to the Embaſſadours of the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Sciots. The Athenians did gratifie unto him his victory, and required that ſuch Greeks as were taken priſoners might be reſtored to liberty. The Rhodians and the Sciots complained of their Gariſons. He granted to them all their requeſts, and reſtoring to the Mitelens all their pledges, encreaſed their territory and dominion, in reſpect of the fidelity they ſhewed unto him, and gave them ſecurity for the money they had employed in the Wars. He gave honour alſo according to their deſervings unto the Kings of *Cipr*us, who revolted from *Darius* unto him, and had aided him with ſhips at the ſiege of *Tyre*. *Amphoterus* his Admiral had commiſſion to drive the Perſians out of the Iſle of *Creet*, but eſpecially that he ſhould rid the Seas of Pyrates, who troubled and ſpoiled all the Iſlands, whileſt theſe two Princes *Alexander* and *Darius* converted their powers one againſt the other. Having ordered theſe things, hee did dedicate to *Hercules* at *Tyre*, a great ſtanding Goblet, and thirty bowls of Gold. That done, he ſet his whole mind and care upon *Darius*, cauſing it to be proclaimed, that every man ſhould ſet forwards towards *Euphrates*. But *Darius* underſtanding that his enemy was gone through *Ægypt* into *Affrica*, ſtood in doubt whether he ſhould ſtay about *Meſopotamia*, or withdraw into the inner parts of his Kingdome, judging that hee in perſon ſhould prevaile with thoſe remote Nations in bringing of them forwards to the war, which his Lieutenants ſhould not be ſo well able to effect. Yet when Fame had publiſhed, and he underſtood by aſſured advertiſement, that *Alexander* was returned out of *Ægypt*, and fully reſolved to follow him with all his power into what Countrey ſoever he ſhould go, he then gave order that the force of all the furtheſt Nations ſhould draw towards *Babylon*, knowing the reſolution of his enemy he had to match withal. Thither reſorted both Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians (for the power of other Countreys were come thither before) and having the double number of men that he had before in *Cilicia*, he prepared armor for them with diligence, of which many of them wanted;

both

both horſemen and horſes were armed with plates of Steel, ſuch as before had no weapons but darts, had ſwords and bucklers given unto them, and to increaſe the power of his horſemen, he delivered many horſes to be managed and broken by the footmen. He had prepared alſo 200. Waggons ſet with hooks, which in thoſe countries were eſteemed things of great force, and judged to be of a wonderfull terrour to the enemy: they were made with great long ſpikes ſticking out before, and with ſwords ſet overthwart on both ſides. The Wheels were alſo full of Iron pikes right forth, and of great hooks both upward and downward, wherewith all things were cut in ſunder that came in their way. When his people were thus furniſhed with armour, and provided ſufficiently for the Wars, he removed from *Babylon* keeping the river of *Tygris* on his right hand, and *Euphrates* on his left hand, he over ſpread with his army all the Plains of *Meſopotamia*, after that he paſſed the river of *Tygris*, and underſtanding that his enemy was approaching he ſent *Satropaces* before with a thouſand choſen horſemen, and afterwards appointed 60 00 to *Mazeus* to ſtop *Alexander* in the paſſage over the river, Who had alſo commiſſion to waſte and burn all the Country where he judged that his enemies ſhould come, thinking to famiſh them for want of victuals, conſidering that they had no other proviſions but what they got by plundering & by ſtealth, they themſelves having plenty brought of all things both by land and the river of *Tygris*, At length he came to a village called *Arbella*, which was afterwards famous by reaſon of his overthrow. There he left the greateſt part of his victuals and carriage, and made a bridge over the river of *Licus*, and in five dayes conveyed over his army, as he had done before over *Euphrates*, paſſing forwards from thence about fourſcore furlongs, : he came to another City called *Bounello*, and there encamped. This Country ſerved wonderfull well for the araunging of his battels in the large Plains, paſſeable for horſes every where, and without ſhrubs, or ſhort bruſh to cover the ground withall, having ſo free a proſpect that the eye might diſcern things a great way off. And if there appeared any hills within the Plain, *Darius* cauſed the ſame to be caſt down, and to be made level to the ground. Such as by conjecture made report to *Alexander* of *Darius* power, could not be credited, for he could not think after ſo many ſlain, there could be a greater power gathered together then he had before. But he that doubted not any peril much leſſe the multitude of men, after the eleventh

encamping

encamping came to the river of *Euphrates*, over the which he made bridges, paſſing over his horſemen and afterwards his footmen. For *Mazeus* that was ſent againſt him with ſix thouſand horſemen to hinder his paſſage durſt not encounter him. When he had continued there a few dayes, not onely to reſt his ſouldiers, but alſo to confirm their minds, and to encourage them, he ſet forwards reſolutely againſt his enemies, fearing that they would have retired back into the inward parts of *Perſia*, where he ſhould have been enforced to follow them by waſte places and deſarts. Therefore the fourth day he paſſed by *Arbella*, and came to the river of *Tygris*. All the Country beyond the river was on a ſmoak, newly ſet on fire by *Mazeus*, who burned all things where he came even as he had been an enemy. *Alexander* at the firſt by reaſon of the darkneſſe of the ſmoak, ſtayed for fear of ambuſhments. But when they which were ſent to ſcour the Countrey, reported that all things were clear, he appointed a few horſemen to prove the paſſage of the river, who found the deepneſs at the firſt entry to come to the horſe breaſt, and in the middeſt of the ſtream to the horſe neck. There is no river in all the Eaſt part of the world that runneth ſo violently, which beſides that the waters of other rivers do run into it, driveth down ſtones with the ſtream, ſo that of its ſwiftneſs it is called *Tygris*, which in the Perſian tongue is as much to ſay as an arrow. The footmen therefore divided into two bands, and holding their armour over their heads, were encloſed on both ſides with the horſemen, and ſo paſſed, till they came to the deep of the channel, without any great difficulty. The King was the firſt amongſt the footmen that paſſed over to the further ſide, who with his hand ſeeing his voice could not be heard) ſhewed the ſhallow places unto the ſouldiers. But they had much to do to keep their footing by reaſon of the ſtones whereupon they ſtumbled, and of the violence of the water that took their feet away. Such as carried burthens on their backs had the greateſt travel, not being able to ſtay themſelves by reaſon of the trouble of their carriage, were born down by violence of the ſtream. And whileſt every man went about to recover again his own, there fell greater ſtrife amongſt themſelves, then they had with the ſtream, and the heaps of fardels that every where flowed upon the water, bare down many of them. The King cried to them that it was ſufficient to keep their arms and let the reſt go, promiſing to recompence every man: but they neither followed his counſel nor did as he commanded them; for beſides the noiſe

that

that was amongſt them, Fear filled their ears as they were ſwimming and wading through the water. At length where the ſtream was moſt ſhallow they came forth, there being nothing miſcarried or wanting amongſt them all, ſaving a few fardles. If their enemies had made but a proffet againſt them, they might eaſily have been put to diſtreſs. But *Alexanders* continual good fortune turned then his enemies away from him, with which fortune he paſſed the river of *Granike*, when ſo many thouſands both of horſemen and footmen, kept the paſſage againſt him. After that manner he overcame the multitude of his enemies in the ſtreights of *Cilicia*. Though his hardineſs were ſuch, that it ſometimes wanted praiſe, yet his felicity ever delivered him out of all extremity of peril. If *Mazeus* had done his part, and ſet upon them as they were paſſing the river, he might eaſily have put them to diſtreſs, being unarmed and out of order, but after the Macedons had armed themſelves (being then too late) he began to ſhew himſelf with a thouſand horſemen. When *Alexander* perceived the ſmall number that came againſt him, he cauſed *Ariſton* Captain of the Peonians to give a full charge upon them. The horſemen that day notably behaved themſelees, but eſpecially *Ariſton*, who with his Spear ran *Satropaces* the chief Captain through the throat, & purſuing him into the midſt of his troop, threw him from his horſe and cut off his head, which to his great commendation he brought and threw down before the King. *Alexander* tarried there two dayes, and on the morning cauſed warning to be given by Proclamation for his ſetting forwards. But in the firſt watch of the night the Moon ſuffered an Eclipſe, and looſing her brightneſs became afterwards as red as bloud, and then waxed dim and dark. The ſtrangeneſs of this ſight did ſtrike a religious fear amongſt the Macedons, whereof proceeded ſuch a doubt and dread, that they fell into a murmuring, why they ſhould be brought forwards in ſuch a manner againſt the will of the Gods into the uttermoſt bounds of the earth, where they could neither paſſe the rivers nor enjoy the accuſtomed uſe of the elements, finding nothing but waſt grounds and wild deſarts, all which was endured (they ſaid) for the ambition of one man, for whoſe vain glory the bloud of ſo many thouſands ſhould be ſhed. He deſpiſeth (ſaid they) his own countrey, he hath forſaken *Philip* for his father, and hath affected heaven in his fooliſh imagination. And now it was come near unto ſedition, when *Alexander* that in all things was without fear, commanded the chief rulers and Captains of his men of war

to aſſemble at his Pavilion, and there commanded the Aſtronomers of the Egyptians (whom he judged to have moſt underſtanding of the Planets) to declare their opinions. They underſtanding very well the revolutions of the time, and their appointed courſes, knew that the Moon was ever eclipſed, when that either ſhe was underneath the earth or elſe when her light was blemiſhed by oppoſition of the Sun, which reaſon reſerved amongſt themſelves, they accuſtome not to acquaint the people with it. But affirm that the Greeks were under the aſpect of the Sun, and the Perſians under the Moon; and therefore ſo often as the Moon faileth of her light, it ſignified great deſtruction unto the nations under that conſtellation. And to confirm that opinion of theirs, they brought in old Preſidents of the Kings of *Perſia*, to whom the eclipſe of the Moon had ſignified that the Gods were againſt them in fighting of their battels. There is nothing more effectual then ſuperſtition to govern a multitude, which otherwiſe is without rule, tumultuous, and mutable: but when they have once conceived a religion, though it be but vain, they be more obedient to their Diviners, then to their Captains, which thing might be well perceived, when the anſwers of the Ægyptians were divulged amongſt the people. For they ſtraightwaies were removed from their dulneſs and diſpair, and ſtirred up to hope and confidence.

Alexander therefore that could uſe the time, and imploy his ſouldiers in their good mood, in the ſecond watch removed his Camp keeping *Tygris* on his right hand, and the mountains which they call *Gordian* on his left hand; By the break of the day the Scouts that he ſent before to diſcover the enemy, returned to him with report of *Darius* was coming, then the ſouldiers prepared themſelves to the fight, & marched forwards in order of battel. But thoſe who were diſcoverers for the Perſians were a thouſand horſemen, who ſeemed to the Macedons to be a great army. The Scouts commonly have that property, that when they cannot find out the truth, they imagine through fear things that be falſe. When *Alexander* underſtood the certainty, he ſent out towards them a ſmal number of his own horſemen, at whoſe comming they fled and were partly ſlain, and part of them taken priſoners. That done, he ſent forth another party as well to diſcover further, as alſo to quench the fire which the Perſians had made through all the Country, for as they fled away they put fire into the roofs of their houſes, and the ſtacks of corn which ſoon took hold above, and conſumed all, till it came

came to the ground. By the extinguiſhing of thoſe fires great plenty of Corn was preſerved, and abundance of all other things enſued amongſt the Macedons: this was a motive which incouraged the ſouldiers greatly to purſue their enemies, for they doubting that they might burn and conſume all ſuch things as might ſerve to their uſe, purſued them with all the ſpeed they could make, providence growing from neceſſity. For *Mazeus* who before did burn the Country at leiſure, when he ſaw himſelf purſued, fled away, and left unto the Macedons the greater part untouched. *Alexander* underſtanding that *Darius* drew towards him, and was come within an hundred and fifty furlongs, made proviſion of victuals, and remained four dayes in the ſame place, *Darius* letters were there intercepted, which he had written to the Greeks, in perſwaſion either to kill or betray *Alexander*. He doubted whether he ſhould recite the ſame letters openly, or no, having no miſtruſt of their fidelity and affection towards him. But *Parmenio* diſſwaded him from acquainting the ſouldiers with any ſuch promiſes of *Darius*, conſidering that the committing of ſuch an act, conſiſted in one mans hands, and that covetouſneſs never judged any thing unlawfull. He followed *Parmenio's* counſel, and ſo removed his Camp. As they were marching, one of the Eunuches that attended upon *Darius* wife, brought word, how ſhe fainted, and was in great peril of death; for ſhe in very deed was ſo wearied with continual travel and affliction of mind, that ſhe fell down in a ſwound betwixt her mother in law, and her young daughter, and ſo died, He had no ſooner reported it, but another came with tidings that ſhe was dead indeed: whereat *Alexander* was no leſſe ſorrowfull then if his own mother had been in the ſame condition, and weeping no leſs then *Darius* ſhould have done, he repaired into the Tent where *Darius* mother was ſitting by the dead body: his ſorrow there renued when he ſaw her lie proſtrate upon the ground, that preſent misfortune calling to mind her paſſed calamities: ſhe took in her arms *Darius* two daughters, a comfort to her in their mutual dolour, but that ſhe was enforced to comfort them. Her young Grandchild ſtood in her preſence, the more to be pitied, becauſe that for his youth he yet underſtood not the calamity that was growing on him. A man would have thought, that *Alexander* had wept for his own cauſe, he lamented and would receive no comfort, but abſtained from meat, and commanded all honour to be done to the dead corps after the countrey cuſtome of the Perſians. Worthy he was there-

by to receive the due reward of his meekneſs and continency. He had onely ſeen her once before, which was on the day ſhe was taken, and and then came not to viſit her, but *Darius* mother; the excellency of her beauty was no provokement to him of luſt, but of glory. Of thoſe Eunuches that were about the Queen, there was one *Tyriotes*, who during this lamentation eſcaped by a gate that was unwarded, and fled unto the Perſians Camp, where he was by the Watchmen brought to *Darius* preſence. When *Darius* ſaw him lamenting and tearing his cloathes, hee was in a labouring expectation what his ſorrow ſhould be, doubting what thing he might fear moſt. Thy countenance (quoth he) declareth that ſome great miſchief is happened: Take heed that thou conceal nothing from my miſerable ears: I have learned to be unfortunate, and it is oftentimes a comfort to a man in his calamity to know his miſhap. Is it not the miſuſing of my wife and children that thou wouldeſt inform me with? which is the thing that I ſuſpect moſt, & fear to utter, and which (as I beleeve) is alſo moſt grievous unto them. Nothing leſs (quoth *Tyriotes*) the ſame honour that was given unto them by your Subjects, the like is uſed by him that is the Conqueror: But your wife is the cauſe of my amazement, who is even now dead.

When that word was once ſpoken, there was nothing but lamentation and mourning throughout the Camp, and *Darius* could not be otherwiſe perſwaded, but that ſhe was ſlain becauſe ſhe would not conſent to her miſuſement; and in the vehemency of his ſorrow, cried out.

O Alexander, *what ſo great an offence have I committed againſt thee? whom of thy kindred have I ſlain, that thou ſhouldeſt requite me with this cruelty? Thou haſt done it without any provokement of my part. But be it ſo that thou doſt move a juſt war againſt me, yet is it thy part therefore to make war with women?*

Tyriotes thereupon did ſwear by the immortal Gods, that there was no kind of villany done unto her, but that *Alexander* lamented her death, and wept no leſſe then he himſelf would have done. Thoſe words did drive him into a further ſuſpicion and jealouſie, conjecturing that *Alexanders* behaviour had proceeded from the familiar converſation had betwixt them. Therefore he commanding all perſons from him ſaving onely *Tyriotes*, left his weeping, but yet ſobbing for ſorrow, ſaid unto him: Thou ſeeſt now, *Tyriotes*, that lies can take no place, Torments ſtraightways ſhal be brought before thee; I require thee therefore,

fore, if any reverence of thy Prince remain within thy heart, tell me without compulsion the thing that I desire to know, and am ashamed to enquire. Is it possible, being of the age that he is. and having her in his hands, that he should not attempt her? *Tyriotes* offered himself to be racked in tryal of the cause, and called the Gods to witnesse, that she was never used but chastly and reverently. At length when he was throughly perswaded that his words were true, he covered his face, weeping a long space, and afterwards the the tears yet distilling down his cheeks, uncovered it, and holding up his hands to heaven, said:

O you Gods whom I worship, I require you chiefly to establish this Kingdome unto my self: but if yee have determined my ruine and decay, then my request is, that none may reign as King in my Dominion, but even he that is so just an Enemy, and so mercifull a Conquerour.

And therefore, though he had twise before required peace at *Alexanders* hands, and prevailed not, but had converted all his mind towards the wars, yet he was then so overcom with the continency of his enemy, that he sent twelve of the chiefest of his bloud as Embassadours to treat with him upon conditions of peace. *Alexander* calling a Councel, gave them audience, to whom the eldest spake in this manner.

That Darius *hath now the third time demanded peace of you, no power hath compelled him, but your justice & continency hath invited him unto it. He cannot perceive that either his Mother, his Wife, or Children were prisoners, saving for the want of their company. You take care of their chastities which remain alive, like a Father; You give to them the honour appertaining to them, and suffer them to continue in their former estate. I see that sadness in your countenance which I saw in* Darius, *when I parted from him, and yet he doth mourn for his Wife, and you for your Enemy: and if the care of her burial had not been, you had now stood in Battle in readiness to fight against him. Is it any marvel therefore if he require peace of such a man, that is so friendly disposed towards him? What shall they need to contend with arms, between whom there remaineth no hatred? In his former Treaty he offered that the River of* Alys, *which boundeth upon* Lydia, *should be the confines of your Empire: but now he proffereth you in Dower with his daughter to be delivered out of hand all those countreys that lie betweene* Hellespont *and* Euphrates. *For the performance of which his Promise, and for the observing of Peace,* Oc-

chus *his ſon now in your poſſeſſion ſhall be the pledge for his part. His requeſt is, to have his Mother and his two Daughters reſtored unto him, for which you ſhall receive thirty thouſand Talents. Except I knew the moderation that is in you, I would not be ſo bold to ſay that this is a time when you ought not only to grant peace, but alſo to ſeek for it your ſelf, Look back and behold what a great thing you leave behind you, and foreſee how much it is that you covet before you. An Empire overgreat is dangerous, and it is hard to hold that which you are not able to receive. Do you not ſee, that thoſe ſhips which be of exceeding greatneſſe, cannot well be governed? Judge that to be the cauſe that* Darius *loſt ſo much, becauſe that overmuch is the occaſion of much loſſe; It is more eaſie to get many things then to keep a few. How much more eaſily do our Hands catch, then hold faſt? The very Death of* Darius *wife now doth ſhew, that you have not ſo great occaſion to ſhew mercy as you had before.*

The Embaſſadours did withdraw into another place, and he debated in councel his opinion. It was long before any durſt utter what they thought, becauſe they were uncertain how the King was inclined: at length *Parmenio* ſpake, and ſaid.

My opinion was ever, that the priſoners taken at *Damaſcus* ſhould have been delivered to ſuch as would redeem them, whereby a great ſum of money might have been made of them, who now remaining in captivity, trouble the hands of many a man of ſervice. And now I think moſt neceſſary of all, that you exchange for thirty Talents of Gold, this old woman, and the two young Damzels, which be but impediments and diſturbance to your marches. Here is a rich Realm to be gotten by treaty, without any hazard of battel. For there was never any before you (quoth he) that was Lord of all the Countreys in length and breadth lying between *Iſter* and *Euphrates*. He willed him therefore rather to have reſpect towards *Macedonia*, then to look forward towards *Bactria* and the Indians.

Theſe words liked not the King, and therefore ſo ſoon as *Parmenio* had made an end of his Speech, he made this anſwer. And if I were *Parmenio*, I would rather deſire money, then glory. But now ſeeing I am *Alexander*, I am not in any doubt of poverty, and have in conſideration that I am a King, and no Merchant, I have nothing whereof I will make ſale, I will much leſs ſell my fortune. If I were in mind to deliver the priſoners, it were much better to give them freely, then to ranſome them for money. Here-

Hereupon he called the Embaſſadours, and anſwered them in this ſort.

I Shew you to Darius, *that giving of thanks is needleſſe to an enemy, and let him not think that* I *have had any reſpect to his friendſhip in thoſe things that I have done of mine own clemency and liberallity. Nor let him impute the ſame in any wiſe towards himſelf, but to the inclination of mine own nature, and that I contend not againſt mens calamities, but againſt the force of mine enemies.* I *uſe not to make war with women and priſoners, for he muſt be armed to whom* I *ſhall owe my hatred. And though it were ſo indeed, that he meant good faith in his peace asking, yet peradventure* I *would take adviſe before I would conſent. But ſeeing that at one time he hath provoked my ſouldiers to betray me, and at other times ſtirred up my friends with money to deſtroy me, I muſt purſue him to the uttermoſt, not as a righteous enemy, but as one that worketh his ends by treaſon. If I ſhould accept the condition of peace that you do bring, I ſhould acknowledge him to be Conquerour. His liberallity doth give me all that is behind the river of* Euphrates, *not conſidering in what place* I *ſpeak now unto you. Have you forgotten that* I *am paſſed the river of* Euphrates, *and incamped beyond the bounds ye proffer me in* Dowry? *Drive me from hence that* I *may know the ſame to be yours, wherewith you would enfeoffe me. He proffereth me his daughter with no greater liberallity then he would do to one of his ſervants. Doth he think to do me a pleaſure in preferring me to be his ſon in law before* Mazeus? *Go and ſhew this to your King, that both what he hath loſt, and what he hath yet in poſſeſſion, ſhall be unto me the rewards of the war, which ſhall determine the bounds of both our Empires, and by the fortune of the battel which we ſhall fight to morrow, appoint to each of us our limits. Let him know that* I *came not into* Aſia *to receive but to give. If he would have been content to have been the ſecond perſon, and not coueted to be equal with me,* I *would peradventure have granted his requeſt. But as two Suns cannot ſhine on the earth at once, ſo likewiſe two ſuch great Kingdomes cannot be at one time, without the ſubverſion of the world. Therefore let him either this day yeeld himſelf, or elſe prepare againſt the morrows fight, nor let him perſwade himſelf to have any other fortune then what he hath proved already.*

The Embaſſadours replied; that ſeeing he was reſolved to proceed with

with war, he did royally that he was plain unto them, and did not feed them with hope of peace. Their requeſt was therefore that they might be diſpatched to their Prince, to warn him to prepare himſelf likewiſe. When they returned there was no way but to prepare for the fight. Wherefore *Darius* ſent *Mazeus* with three thouſand horſemen to keep the paſſages, by which the Macedons ſhould paſſe. When *Alexander* had performed the funerals of *Darius* wife, leaving a ſmall guard behind, with all ſuch as were unprofitable for the fight, he ſet forward towards his enemies. His footmen were divided into two battels, empaled with horſemen on both ſides, and his carriages were placed in the middeſt. He ſent *Medinas* with horſemen upon the ſpurs to diſcover where *Darius* was, but he not daring to adventure far, becauſe *Mazeus* was there ſtrongly quartered, returned back and reported that there was nothing to be heard but the noiſe of men and the neighing of horſes. *Mazeus* alſo (the Scouts of *Alexander* being diſcovered) gave intelligence to *Darius* of the approach of the enemy: *Darius* who deſired to try the event of the battel in the open Plains commanded his ſouldiers to be armed, and put his army in array of battel. Two thouſand of the Bactrian and the Dahan horſe, and four thouſand of the Arachoſians and Suſians did make the left wing: Theſe were followed by a hundred hooked chariots. Next unto them was *Beſſus* with a thouſand Bactrian horſe, and two thouſand of the Maſſagetæ did back him on his rear. To theſe the foot of many nations, not mixed but in diſtinct Regiments did join their formidable power: after them *Ariobarzanes* and *Oriobates* with the Mardians and Sogdians did bring up the army of the Perſians. This part of *Darius* army was commanded in chief by *Orſixes* deſcended from ſeven-Perſian Kings, and deriving alſo his Original from the noble King *Cyrus*. There were other nations that followed theſe, but hardly known to their own neighbours. After whom, *Cradates* having fifty hooked chariots placed a band of Caſpian horſemen before them, and behind them were the Indians and the other inhabiters of the red ſea, rather names of men then good aſſiſtance. This ſquare was alſo empaled with the other fifty chariots, unto the which the mercenary ſouldiers were joyned, after them followed the men of *Armenia* the leſſe, then the Babylonians, and next the Bellicans, with ſuch as inhabit the Coſſean mountains. The Gortuans came next, who ſomtime followed the Medians out of *Euboia*: but at thoſe days degenerated from their Countrey cuſtomes.

The

The Phrygians, Cathonians, and Parthians did close the rear: this was battel on the left hand.

In the battel on the right hand were the people of the greater *Armenia*, the Caduſians, Cappadocians, Syrians, and Medians, who had fifty hooked chariots: the ſum of his whole army was 45000 horſemen, and 200 thouſand footmen. When they were placed in order of battel, they marched forward ten furlongs, and then were commanded to make a halt. Whileſt the Perſians after that manner tarried for their enemies, there fell a ſudden fear amongſt the Macedons, whereof there appeared no cauſe, and yet every man was amazed, and a ſecret dread entred into their hearts. The lightning that fell out of the air, it being in the Summer ſeaſon ſeemed like fire, and the flames ſuddenly appearing were thought to come from *Darius* Camp. If *Mazeus* who was ſent out to obſerve their comming, had ſet upon them while they were in this fear, he might have performed ſome notable act. But he was ſlow in the enterpriſe, and remained upon the top of an hill contented that he was not aſſailed. *Alexander* perceiving the terrour that invaded his ſouldiers made a ſign for them to ſtay, and gave order that they ſhould unarm themſelves, and refreſh their bodies, giving them to underſtand, that there was not any cauſe, why they ſhould entertain ſo vain a fear, ſeeing their enemies were yet a good diſtance from them. At length when he perceived they had recovered their ſpirits, he exhorted them to receive courage and to put on their armour, But yet he thonght nothing more expedient then to fortifie his Camp in the ſame place. The next day *Mazeus* who had planted himſelf on a high hill from whence he might behold his enemies Camp, either for fear, or elſe becauſe his commiſſion was but onely to diſcover the motion of his enemies, returned again unto *Darius*. Upon his departure the Macedons immediately poſſeſſed themſelves of the hill which he had forſaken, the ſame being of more ſtrength then the Plain where they remained before, from whence they might behold their enemies Camp. And though that the miſt which the moiſt hils did caſt forth, took not away clearly the uſe of their proſpect, yet it hindred them to diſcern the diviſion of their enemies battels, and their order; their multitude overſpread the fields, and the noiſe of their number did fil their ears, though they were far off. Then *Alexander* begun to revolve in his mind, and to debate with himſelf one while *Parmenioes* opinion, and another time his own. For he was come ſo far forth, that he could not retire except

he were victorious without the great destruction of his army. The multitude of his enemies moved him much in respect of his smal numbers. Yet on the other part he remembred what great acts he had done with them, and how many nations he had vanquished. So that his hope surmounting his fear, he thought it of al most dangerous to defer the battel any longer, lest desperation should grow amongst his men, and therefore dissembling the matter, he caused the mercenary horsemen and the Peons to passe on before, and divided his Phalanx (as it hath been said) into two battels and empaled the same with horsemen on both sides. By that time, the mist vanished and it waxing clear, the order of his enemies manifestly appeared. The Macedons then, whether it were of courage, or for that they were impatient to tarry any longer, made such a shout as men of war use when they joyn in battel: the like was also made by the Persians. Then the woods and valleys rebounded with the terrible sound, the Macedons could not abstain any longer, but would have gone forwards towards their enemies. But *Alexander* thought it better to fortifie his Camp upon that hill, and so commanded it to be intrenched about, Which work being speedily performed, he entred into his Tent, from whence he might behold the field marshalled, and the whole army of his enemie embattailed, then the fashion and form of the danger that was at hand, was presented before his eys, both horsemen and footmen glistered in their bright armour and all things were prepared with extraordinary diligence. He beheld, the care of the Captains in his enemies Camp, how they did ride up and down to set things in order. And many things that were but vain indeed (as the noise of men, the neighing of horses, and the glistering of their armour) troubled yet the mind that was carefull in the expectation of the event. Therefore whether it were that he was not fully resolved in his mind, or else to prove the resolutions of such as were about him, a Councel of war was called to advise what was best to do. *Parmenio* who was the most experienced among all the Captains in the feats of war, thought it good not to give his enemies open battel, but rather to set upon them in the dead time of the night, whereby he thought they might easily bee discomfited, supposing that they among whom there was such diversity of customes, and alteration of language, could never rally well together, specially when in the dead of night they should have their quarters beaten up, whereas in the day time, the shape of the Scithians and Bactrians, with their rough faces, and long

hair, beſide the hugeneſs of their bodies, ſhould appear terrible. Hee alledged how ſouldiers were more moved with the vain cauſes of fear, and ſuch as were of no moment, then with ſuch as were juſt cauſes indeed. He declared alſo how their enemies by reaſon of their great multitude, ſhould be able to encloſe their ſmall number round about: and that they ſhould not now fight in the ſtreights and narrow paſſages of *Cilicia*, but in an open and large Plain.

They all in a manner agreed to *Parmenio*, and *Polipercon* was directly of opinion, that the victory conſiſted on the following of that counſel. The King that before had upbraided *Parmenio* more bitterly then was expedient, would not check him again, but beheld *Polipercon* and ſaid:

That policy that you adviſe me, pertaineth to robbers and felons, for it is their property to work by darkneſſe and deceit, I will no more ſuffer that either Darius *abſence, the ſtraightneſſe of the ground, or the ſtealth in the night, ſhall be an hinderance to my glory. I am plainly determined to fight with him in the open day, and had rather repent me of my fortune, then be aſhamed of my victory. Beſides, this is to be conſidered that the Perſians keep good watch, and ſtand armed alwaies in a readineſſe to receive us, whereof I have advertiſement, ſo that they cannot be deceived that way; therefore there doth remain no more but that you prepare your ſelves to the battel.*

When he had by theſe words put them into courage, he diſmiſſed them from counſell to refreſh their bodies. *Darius* conjecturing that his enemies would have done that which *Parmenio* did perſwade, cauſed the horſes to ſtand ready bridled the whole night, and the moſt part of his hoſt to continue armed, and to keep good watch. His Camp ſhone bright with the fires that were made, and he himſelf with his Captains and Kinſfolks went about his battels that ſtood in order and in arms, making invocation to the Sun, to *Mars*, and to the everlaſting Fire, that they would inſpire unto them a fortitude of mind, that might anſwer to the antient glory and the acts of their predeceſſors. And declared if the mind of man were able to conceive any tokens or ſigns of the Gods favour or aſſiſtance, it was no doubt but that they were bent on their ſide, having already ſtricken a ſudden fear amongſt the Macedons, which (he ſaid) might be ſeen by their running here and there, by the carrying and caſting off their armor. And that the Gods which

took care of the Perſians Empire, were now determined to puniſh theſe Cowards, Whoſe Captains (quoth he) being of no other ſort then the reſt, are like unto thoſe wild beaſts, which through the greedineſſe of the prey that they do covet, do fall into the ſnares that are ſet for them.

The like care was amongſt the Macedons, for as though the matter ſhould have been tried that night, they paſſed it over in doubt and fear, *Alexander* himſelf (that was never ſeen in ſuch fear before that time) called for *Ariſtander* to make vows and prayers, who in a white garment, carrying *Verbenes* in his hand, with his head covered, went before the King calling upon *Iupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Victoria*. When he had thus performed his ſacrifice, according to their religion, he returned into his Pavilion to reſt the reſidue of the night. Yet he could neither reſt, nor ſleep, but continually debated with himſelf which way he ſhould aſſail his enemies. One while he was of opinion to give his firſt onſet upon that battel of the Perſians that ſhould come on his right hand: ſomtimes he determined to meet his enemies in the very front, & otherwhile whether it were better to encounter them on their left battel. At length his body became heavy with the travel of his mind, & he fell into a ſound ſleep. When the day appeared, the Captains aſſembled about the Kings Pavillion, to receive their charge, where they ſtood amazed at the unaccuſtomed ſilence. For they could not but wonder that he who was ever wont to call upon other men, & to reprove ſuch as were ſlow or negligent, not to be then ſtirring, in the extremity of the utmoſt danger. And many were of opinion that he ſlept not, but ſhrunk for fear: yet for all that, none of them that were about his perſon durſt attempt to wake him. In the mean ſeaſon the morning paſt away, and the ſouldiers might neither put on their armour, nor ſtand in order of battel, without commandement of their chief. When they had thus tarried a good while, *Parmenio* gave commandement that they ſhould fall to meat. At length when the time came that of neceſſity the army muſt be drawn into battel, he entred into the Kings lodging and called upon him divers times by his name: but when he could not awake him with his voice, he ſtirred him with his hand, and ſaid:

It is far forth day and your enemies come forwards in order of battel, and your ſouldiers being yet unarmed, have not commandement given them what they ſhould do. Where is that cheerfulneſſe and courage of yours become, which were wont to ſtir up even thoſe who were moſt watchful.

Alexander

Alexander made anſwer unto him:

Think you that I *could ſleep before that* I *had rid my ſelf of the care that hindred me to take my reſt?* and thereupon cauſed the trumpets to ſound to the battel.

But when *Parmenio* continued ſtil in his admiration, that he in ſuch a time could ſleep ſo quietly. *It is no marvel* (quoth *Alexander*) *when* Darius *burned the Country, waſted the villages, and deſtroyed the victuals,* I *could then in no wiſe be quiet. But now what cauſe have I of fear, ſeeing he now prepareth himſelf to fight? He hath now fulfilled my deſire, reſort you where your charge lieth, and* I *will ſhraight way come to give order amongſt you, and we will diſpute this buſineſs afterwards.*

He uſed ſeldome to take his friends advice when any doubt or danger was at hand, When *Parmenio* was gone, he armed himſelf, and came forwards amongſt his ſouldiers. They ſeeing him look ſo chearfully as they had not ſeen before time, conceived by the courage of his countenance a certain hope of the victory. Then he cauſed the trenches of his Camp to be caſt down, that the ſouldiers might have free paſſage forth, and in this manner did ſet his battels in order. The horſemen of whom *Clitus* was Captain, were ſet in the wing on his right hand battel, to whom he joyned *Philotas* and other Captains. The laſt band of horſemen was *Meleagers*, which were next unto the ſquare battel of footmen that the Macedons name Phalanx. After the Phalanx followed the Agaraſpides, of whom *Nicanor* the ſon of *Parmenio* was Captain, *Cenus* with his band was appointed to be a relief: *Heroſtes* and *Linceſtes* advanced next, and after them *Polipercon* that had the rule of the ſtrangers, and *Phylagus* who had the rule of the Balacrons, And this was the order of *Alexanders* battel in the right wing, whereof *Amintas* was chief.

In the left battel *Craterus* had the charge of the Peloponeſian horſemen, and with him alſo were the bands of the Achayans, Locrenſians, & Malæans, & the hindmoſt troops were the horſemen of *Theſſaly* under *Philip* their Captain. Thus the horſemen covering the foot, made the front of the battel, And leſt their enemies through their multitude ſhould incloſe the battel about, he planted a great force behind for a reſerve, and ſet a relief alſo upon the wings, not in front with the reſt, but upon the ſides, to the intent that if the enemies attempted to compaſſe round about the battels, they ſhould be ready to keep them in action.

Thoſe that maintained the places of reſerves were the Agrians, of whom *Attalus* was Captain, and the archers of *Crete* were joyned unto them. Such as ſtood in the Rear of the Battels, were ordered to turn their faces from the Frontwards, becauſe that being in a readineſs every way, the Battels in every place ſhould be of equal force. They which ſtood with their faces contrariwiſe, were the Illirians, and the mercenary ſouldiers, with the Thracians that were light armed. Theſe his Battels were ſo aptly ſet to move every way, that ſuch as ſtood in the hinder parts could not be incloſed about, but might every way make their Front, ſo the Front, the Flanks, and the Rear were all of like force. When he had ſet his men in order after this manner, he gave commandement, that if the Perſians ſhould attempt upon them with their hooked Waggons with a cry, or noiſe, that then they ſhould open their Battels, and receive them with ſilence, not doubting but that they ſhould paſs through without any harm, if no man did reſiſt them. But if they ſhould come without any ſhout or clamour, that then they themſelves ſhould make a cry to fear the Horſes withal, and ſo with Pikes thruſt them through on every ſide. They which had the charge of Battels, were comanded to extend them ſo much in breadth as poſſibly they might, left by ſtanding over-cloſe, they might be environed; and yet not to ſtretch them ſo far out, as to leave the ranks void and thin in the middeſt. The cartiage and the priſoners (amongſt whom *Darius* Mother was one) were ſet in the top of an hill, with a ſmal Guard about them. The charge of the left Battel was committed unto *Parmenio*, as was accuſtomed before time, and *Alexander* himſelf was in the main Body.

When they were drawn near to one another one *Byon* came flying from the Perſian Hoaſt in a full gallop, and declared unto the King, that *Darius* had planted iron Caltops where he thought his horſemen ſhould paſs, and by a certain ſign ſhewed him the place becauſe it might be avoided. *Alexander* willed the fugitive to be kept ſafe, and aſſembled all his Captains together, declaring the matter, and exhorting them to make their ſouldiers privie to the danger, for eſchewing the place pointed out to them. But all that were in ſo great an army could not hear the warning given, the noiſe of both armies taking away the uſe of the eares. But *Alexander* riding betwixt the Battels, gave exhortation to the Captains, and to all other that were within hearing.

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He declared, that there was but one hazard remaining to them that had passed through so many countries in hope of the victory, which they were now ready to fight for, Thereupon he reduced to their memory the battels they had fought, at the River of *Granike*, in the mountains of *Cilicia*, and with what speed they had passed over both *Syria* and *Ægipt*: the rehearsal whereof put them in great hope, and did incite them forwards to the desire of glory. He shewed that the Persians being withdrawn from their former flying, were now compelled to fight of necessity, because they could fly no further, and how that three dayes together amazed for fear, they had remained still in one place with their armour on their backs, of whose despair (he said) there could be no greater argument, then that they had set on fire their own Countrey, confessing all to be their enemies that they destroyed not. He exhorted them not to fear the vain name of unknown Nations; for it was a thing nothing pertinent, which were called Scythians, or which Caducians. For, being unknown Nations, it was a sure token that they were men of no valour, because such as be valiant, could never be unknown in the world. And contrariwise, dastards, when they come forth of their dens, bring nothing with them but names of men, whereas you (quoth he) that be Macedons have obtained by your vertue and manhood, that there is no Countrey in the world ignorant of your acts. He willed them to behold the evil order that was in their enemies Hoste, of whom some had no weapon but a Dart, others a sling to cast stones, and very few had such armour as they ought to have. So that though there were a great number on the other part, yet he said they had more on their side when they should come to fight hand to hand, and that for his part, he would nor require any man to adventure himself, except hee were an example to him of Fortitude and Courage; for he assured them that he would be seen fighting with the foremost, knowing that so many wounds as he should get, should be so many ornaments to his person. He said, they themselves knew that hee would bee no partaker of the prey, but that it was ever his custome, to bestow the rewards of the victory upon the Souldiers. His former words he shewed to be spoken to men of courage; but if any were of another temper, he was to inform them, that they were come unto the place from whence they could not fly, having left so many Countreys behind them which they had passed over, and so many Rivers and Mountains at their backs, so that now there was no

way

way to their own houſes and native Countrey, but ſuch as they muſt make open with their own hands.

This was the exhortation he gave unto the Captains, and to ſuch of the Souldiers as were next unto him. *Darius*, that was in his left hand Battel, accompanied with a choiſe band of horſemen and of footmen, deſpiſed the ſmall number of his enemies, their Battels appearing to him, thin, and void of men, when he ſaw their wings ſtretched ſo far abroad. He ſtood therefore on his Chariot on high, and turning himſelf both on the right hand and the left, he ſpake in this manner to ſuch as were about him.

We that not long ſince were Lords of all the Countreys lying between Helleſpont *and the Ocean Sea, are compelled now to fight, not for fame and glory, but for our ſafeguard and our liberty, which chiefly is to be eſteemed. This day ſhall either eſtabliſh or make an end of the greateſt Empire that hath been in any age. At the River of* Granike *we fought with a ſmall part of our power; when we were vanquiſhed in* Cilicia, Syria *was able to receive us, and the Rivers of* Tygris *and* Euphrates *were as Bulwarks to defend our Kingdome: But now we are come to that extremity, that we have no place to fly unto if we be put to flight. All things behind our backs are waſted with this long war, neither Cities are inhabited, nor men left to till the ground. Our wives and our children do follow this army, a prey ready for our enemies, except we put forth our bodies for the defence of ſuch as be dear unto us. So much as hath concerned me, I have performed, preparing ſuch an army as this huge plain is able to receive. I have diſtributed amongſt you Horſe and* Armour, *providing that Victuals ſhould not be wanting for ſuch a multitude, and have choſen an apt place to arange our battels in. All the reſt remaineth in your hands: Do but dare to fight, and the Victory is yours; and deſpiſe you the fame of the enemy, which is but a weak weapon againſt men of valour: It is raſhneſſe which hitherto ye have feared as a Vertue, whereof when the firſt brunt is ſpent, it waxeth dull as are Drones having once loſt their ſtings. This plain hath diſcloſed their ſmall number, which the mountains of* Cilicia *did hide: You ſee how empty their ranks are, how thin their wings be extended abroad, how their battels be empty and void of men, and ſuch as are in the Rear have already turned their backs. They may be overthrown with your horſes feet, though I ſend none againſt them but the hook-*

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ed waggons. And if we win the battel, we make an end of the war, for they have no place to flie unto. They are ſhut in with Tygris on the one ſide, and with Euphrates on the other: and ſuch things as before made for their purpoſe now are turned and do make clear againſt them. Our army is light and without much baggage, and they be laden with preies and booties. We ſhall kill them as they are wrapt in ſpoils. And the ſame one thing ſhall be both our gain and the cauſe of our victory. If any of you be moved with the fame of the nation, you muſt think that the armour with the outward ſhew, and not the bodies of the Macedons be there preſent: we have conſumed ſo much of their bloud ſince the war began. And ſeeing they be but few, their loſſe to them muſt needs be to them the greater. For how great ſoever Alexander doth ſeem to them that are cowards, he is but a man, and if you truſt me, both raſh and without conſideration: and hitherto more fortunate through our feare, then by his owne valour. There is nothing can continue that is not governed by reaſon. For though Fortune ſeems to favour for a while, yet at laſt ſhe will not ſuppoet his raſhneſſe. Beſides that, the eſtate of things are full of change, and no man hath a perpetual felicity. It may be that the providence of the Gods have ſo ordained it, that the Empire of the Perſians encreaſed with ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe by the ſpace of two hundred and thirty years, and brought to ſo great a height of fortune, ſhould now rather be ſhaken, then utterly overthrown, therby to admoniſh us of mans fragillity, whinh uſeth to forget himſelf overmuch in proſperous eſtate. It is not long ago ſince of our own motion and courage, we made war againſt the Gretians, and invaded their Dominions, but now we ſtand at defence for our own Countrey. Thus we be toſſed one againſt another by exchange of fortune. For one Nation cannot ſuffice the greatneſſe of the Empire which we both do covet. But be it ſo that hope were taken from us, yet neceſſity ought to incourage us. the war is brought to ſuch extremity. He keepeth now as priſoners, both my mother, my two daughters, and Occhus my ſon born to the ſucceſſion of this Empire. He keepeth captive your Prince, the iſſue that is deſcended of the bloud royall: yea and your Captains equal with Kings, and if you do not now beſtir your hands, I my ſelf am like to become a captive. Deliver you therefore my bowels out of priſon, and reſtore to me my children for whoſe ſake I do not refuſe to die. Be you all ſure that both my mother and my children, (for my wife

is dead in priſon) *be holding up their hands, crying unto the Gods, and calling for your help your courage & fidelity, that you would free them from ſervitude, from fetters, and from the eſtate they are in, living at other mens will and appointment. Think you that they can be content to live under ſuch, as they could ſcarcely vouchſafe to have for their ſubjects? I ſee that our enemies battels do approach, and the nearer the danger is at hand, the leſſe the words I have ſpoken do ſatisfie me. I make requeſt to you by the Gods of our Countrey, by the eternal Fire that is carried upon their Altars, by the brightneſſe of the Sun that riſeth within the bounds of my Empire, and by the everlaſting memory of* Cyrus *who did take the Empire from the Medes and Lydians, and gave it to the Perſians, to deliver their names and this Nation from ſhame and reproach. Go forth chearfully, have you good hope, and ſee that you reſtore to your poſterity the glory you received of your Predeceſſours. Behold you carry in your hands your liberty, your help, our hope in time to come. Whoſoever contemneth death eſcapeth it, and death onely overtaketh ſuch ſuch as do flie from it. I ride here in a Chariot, not onely for that it is my Countreys cuſtome, but alſo that I may be ſeen of you all. And I deſire nothing ſo much as that you will follow me, whether I ſhew you an example of courage or of cowardlineſſe.*

In the mean ſeaſon whileſt *Alixander* did covet to eſchew the place of peril whereof he was advertiſed, and enforced himſelf to encounter with *Darius* left battel, where he remained in perſon, he was compelled to fetch a compaſſe about, Whom when *Darius* perceived, he turned likewiſe his own battel towards him, willing *Beſſus*, to appoint the horſe of the Maſſage*æ*, to give a charge on *Alexanders* left battel. He ſet before him his hooked waggons which by a ſign given brake out ſuddenly upon their enemies with a full courſe to the intent that by the their comming unawares they might work the greater deſtruction. The pikes that were ſet before in the waggons, deſtroyed divers, and many were torn aſunder by the hooks that were on both ſides. The Macedons gave not place to them by a little and little, but troubled their array with a main flight. When *Mazæus* ſaw their diſorder he put them in more fear, and appointed a thouſand horſemen to fetch a compaſſe about the Macedons battels to ſpoil their carriage ſuppoſing that the priſoners which were there kept would break their bands when they ſhould ſee their own Nation approach.

Parmenio

Parmenio who was in the left wing did easily perceive it, and immediately sent *Polidamus* unto *Alexander*, to shew him the danger and know his pleasure what he would have done. Which when he understood by *Polidamus*, Go thy way (quoth he) and shew *Parmenio* if we win the battel, we shal not onely recover again our own, but shal have also the spoil of our enemies. Therfore I would not that any part of out force should be removed out of the main battel, but let him fight it out manfully and not regard the loss of baggage, wherein he shall observe the honour of me and my father *Philip*, whose custome was to do the like.

In the mean season the Persians were entred among the carriages, and had slain divers that was left there in defence thereof: whereupon the prisoners began to unlose themselvs, and taking up whatsoever came to hand took part with the horsemen, and sharply assailed the Macedons, divers were so joyfull, that they ran to bear tidings to *Sisigambis*, how *Darius* had won the victory, and had overthrown his enemies with a great slaughter, and also that their carriage was taken, thinking the like fortune had been every where, seeing they saw the Persians fall to spoil. And although they exhorted *Sisigambis* that she should leave her heavinesse, and rejoyce, yet she continued in the same estate she was in before, without speaking one word, or changing colour or countenance, but sate still immoveable. She was so overcome (as it was thought) with sudden joy that she durst not stir, nor attempt fortune. For such as did behold her, could not perceive which way she was enclined. In the mean season *Amintas* that was master of the horse to *Alexander*, came with a few bands of horsemen to relieve the carriages, but uncertain it was whether he did it of his own head, or by the Kings appointment. He was not able to endure the force of the Cadusians and Scithians. For scarcely attempting the skirmish he was driven back, and fled again unto *Alexander*, being a witnes rather of the loss of the carriage then a rescuer of the same. The grief that *Alexander* conceived at this matter, overcame the purpose he took before in hand, and feared (not without cause) least the souldiers through the carefullnes to recover their own, might leave the fight and resort toward their baggage: he sent *Aretes* Captain of the Spearmen that were named *Sauſſopheri* against the Scithians. By this time the hooked waggons, which had before troubled the forefront were come within the square (which the Macedons call Phalanx) yet the souldiers never shrunk

at the matter, but received them into the middeſt of their battel, whereas joyning themſelves cloſe together, they ſtood like a wall on both ſides, thruſting their pikes into the bowels of the horſes, and ran about the waggons, throwing down ſuch as ſtood in them at defence. The whole battel was intangled and troubled with the ruine and killing of the horſes, with ſuch as governed them. They could not rule their horſes when they were once galled or hurt, who with much leaping and ſtrugling, not onely brake out of their traces, but alſo overthrew the waggons, drawing at their tails the men that were ſlain, neither being able to ſtand ſtill for the fear they were in, nor yet go forwards, being ſo faint of their wounds. Yet a few of them paſſed through the battel, whereby ſuch as the waggons did light upon, were miſerably ſlain lying upon the ground with their members cut in ſunder. Yet becauſe that through the greenneſs of their wounds they felt little pain, they kept their weapons ſtil notwithſtanding they were maimed & without ſtrength, til ſuch time as by continual bleeding, they ſunk down dead, *Aretes* in the mean time had ſlain the Captain of the Scithians that were ſpoiling of the carriages, & repulſed them back. But ſtraightway came the Bactrians by *Darius* ſending, and turned the fortune of the field again. Many Macedons were ſlain at the firſt encounter, but more fled unto *Alexander*. Then the Perſians made ſuch a ſhout as men are wont to do that win the victory, and fiercely aſſailed their enemies, thinking they had in every place been put to flight. When *Alexander* perceived his men ſhrink, and begin to faint and give ground, he rebuked ſuch as he ſaw afraid, and encouraged many that withdrew from the fight: ſo that he alone reſtored the batttel again. When he had put them in heart, he required them to preſs forwards, and go freely againſt their enemies. *Alexander* perceiving that the Bactrians were departed to the defeating of the carriages, and by their going had left the right hand battel of *Darius* thin and naked, he bent his force wholly that way, and there made a wonderfull ſlaughter, and deſtruction of his enemies, who by reaſon of their looſe array, were not able to withſtand him, which the Perſians in the left wing obſerving, were in hope to have encloſed *Alexander* round, and came forwards to ſet upon his rear, whereby great danger had enſued to him, being invironed both before and behind, if the Agrians had not put their ſpurs to their horſes & given a gallant charge to their enemies, that were invironing the King about, and ſo compelled the Perſians to turn their faces again towards them.

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The battels thus were ſore travelled on both ſides, *Alexander* had his enemies both before and behind, and his enemies that come on his back were ſore oppreſſed by the Agrians. The Baetrians alſo that had ſpoiled the carriages, were excluded from their own company, and could not recover their place again. Thus the battels were divided in divers parts, and fought one againſt another as their chance fell out. The two Kings that joined their battel hard to one another renued again the fight. There were moſt of the Perſians ſlain, but the number of the wounded were alike on both ſides. *Darius* did ride in a chariot, and *Alexander* upon a horſe. They both had a choiſe band about them which were careleſs of their own lives. For if their Kings ſhould miſcarry neither they could be ſafe nor yet deſire to live. Wherefore every one of them thought it a noble thing to adventure themſelves before the face of their Prince, and he that coveted moſt to defend his maſter was in moſt peril, for each man deſired the honour to kill the King of the contrary part. There (whether it were an imagination of the eyes, or viſible indeed) ſuch as were about *Alexander* believed that they ſaw an Eagle fluttering above his head, which neither feared with the claſhing of their harneſs, nor by the crying of them that were dying, hovered ſtil in the air a little above him. Then *Ariſtander* who did wear a white garment, and carried lawrell in his hand, ſhewed this ſight unto the ſouldiers, being buſie in the fight, as a certain token of victory: this ſight cauſed them which before were in ſome doubt, cheerfully and with great confidence to aſſail their enemies.

The fight continued after this ſort untill the time that he was ſlain who governed the horſe that drew *Darius* chariot. Then neither the Perſians nor Macedons doubted but that *Darius* had been ſlain. And the Perſians upon that imagination made a barbarous noiſe and a ſorrowfull howling, wherewith they ſore troubled and aſtonied their whole hoſt, that were yet fighting with equall victory: *Darius* kinſmen and the Squires of his body that were on his left hand, left him, and fled away with a main flight: but ſuch as ſtood in his defence on his right hand, conveyed him into the heart of the battel.

It was ſaid that *Darius* drew out his ſword and was determined divers times to kill himſelf, rather then to ſuſtain the ſhame of flying away. But when he ſaw as he ſate aloft on his Chariot, that a great part of his army remained yet fighting, he was aſhamed to leave them in ſuch ſort. And while he thus wavered in his own mind, the Perſians

by little & little gave ground, and ſhrunk from their order, *Alexander* that had tyred many horſes did at that inſtant change his horſe a new, and ſtrake at the faces of them that made reſiſtance, there was none then that made reſiſtance any longer, but a manifeſt ſlaughter fell on the Perſians, and *Darius* turned his Chariot to fly away; The Macedons purſued hard after them that fled, and the duſt that flew up to the skie took away their proſpect, ſo that they wandered as it been in darkneſs, and ever drew togethet when they heard any voice they knew. Onely the ratling and noiſe of the Chariots was a token for the Macedons to follow in the purſuit.

As Fortune was proſperous to the Macedons on this part, and contrary unto their enemies, ſo on the other ſide, where *Parmenio* in the left wing encountred with the Perſians, they had the better, and the Macedons the worſe, *Mazeus* with his whole band gave a violent charge, and put the horſemen that ſtood in the wings to a ſore diſtreſs, & therupon by reaſon he abounded with multitude, he began to encloſe the footmen round. Then *Parmenio* ſent word to *Alexander* in what danger they were, which he ſignified to be ſuch, that except they had ſuccour in time, they could not reſiſt, but be inforced to fly away. *Alexander* was gone far in the chaſe when this ſorrowfull meſſage was brought him, wherefore he commanded his horſemen to ſtand, and chafed wonderfully that the victory ſhould be thus taken out of his hands, and that *Darius* had better fortune in flying, then he in following. In the mean ſeaſon, the fame of *Darius* overthrow was brought unto *Mazeus*; wherefore though before he had the upper hand, yet he was ſo ſtricken with fear at his fellows misfortune, that he made a ſlack purſuit upon their enemies, *Parmenio* was ignorant of the cauſe why the fight did ſlack ſo willingly on their part, and boldly uſing the occaſion, called the Theſſalian horſemen unto him, and ſaid: See you not how our enemies that even now gave us a fierce onſet, ſuddenly be afraid? I ſee the fortune of our King doth give us the victory: All the field is ſtrowed with the Perſians that be ſlain, why do you therefore ſtay? are you not good enough for men that be flying?

They ſaw that his words had ſome appearance of truth, and therefore by and by they took courage, and putting their ſpurs to their horſes, gave a full charge upon their enemies, who retyred not by little and little, but marched away a great pace, and they wanted nothing of flying, ſaving that they had not yet directly turned their backs: yet

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for all that, in ſo much as *Parmenio* knew not what was become of the King, nor of his battel, he ſtayed and would not purſue after them. *Mazæus* having liberty given him to fly at his leiſure, paſſed the river of *Tire*, not the next way, but by a further compaſs about with more ſurety, and recovered the City of *Babilon* with the remainder of that vanquiſhed army.

In the mean ſeaſon *Darius* with a few that accompanied him in his flight, came to the River of *Licus*, where paſſing over, he ſtood in doubt whether he ſhould break the bridg or no, for it was ſhewed him that his enemies were at hand: but conſidering how many thouſands of his men by the breaking thereof ſhould become a prey to his enemies, he left the bridg ſtanding, and at his departure, ſaid, *That he had rather open the way to them that purſued him, then to ſhut it againſt them that fled after him.* But *Darius* left not his flying till he came to *Arbella*, where he arrived about midnight. Who is able to conceive in his mind, or expreſs in words, the manifold chance in this diſcomfiture, the ſlaughter that fell both upon Captains and Souldiers, the chaſing of them that were put to flight, and the deſtruction in general and in particular: Fortune heaped together in that one day the chances of the whole world. Some took the way that came next to hand, others fled into the woods, and ſought out by-ways to eſcape ſuch as had them in the chaſe. There was a confuſion of horſemen and footmen mixed together without any head, the armed with the unarmed, and the whole with the hurt.

At length, the compaſſion that one had of another was turned into fear, and they that could not follow were left bewailing themſelves one to another. But thirſt chiefly afflicted the wounded and wearied, who lay along every where in the ways where any water was, gaſping after it with open mouth; and when for greedineſſe they had gulled in the troubled water, they began to ſwell, when the mud once entred into their intrails, and being thus not in caſe to move, the enemy came and ſtirred them up with freſh wounds. Some when the brooks near hand were taken up by others, ſought out for Springs in every ſecret place: Nor were there any puddles ſo dry, or ſo far out of the way, that could be hidden from the thirſt of them that ſearched them out. The old men and women were heard howling and crying in all the Villages near the way ſide, how *Darius* was yet their King.

Alexander (as it hath been ſaid before) purſuing the chaſe, was come

come to the river of *Licus*, at which the multitude of the flyers were more then could paſſe the bridge, ſo that many when there enemies purſued them, leaped into the water, and there laden with their armour, and wearied with fighting and flying, were conſumed in the ſtream. But within a while neither the Bridge nor the River were able to receive the throng that continually encreaſed by their indiſcreet flying: For when Fear had once entred into their hearts, they doubted onely that which put them firſt in fear. The Macedons were very eager in purſuit of their enemies, and required *Alexander* that he would not ſuffer his enemies to eſcape free away; But he to ſtay them alledged that their weapons were dulled, their hands wearied, their bodies faint in the long purſuit, and the night beſides faſt approached on them. But in very deed the care of his other Battel, which he thought to be yet fighting, cauſed him to return to their ſuccour.

He had not ſo ſoon turned his Enſigns; but that certain Horſemen brought him word from *Parmenio*, that he likewiſe had put his enemies to flight. He was not in ſo great danger all that day, as when he was comming towards his Camp; For there were but few that followed him, and they were out of order, as men that rejoycing of the victory, judged all their enemies either to be fled or ſlain in the field. Suddenly there appeared a band of Perſian horſemen comming againſt them, which at the firſt ſtayed, but afterwards perceiving the ſmall number of the Macedons, gave a charge upon them. The King rode formoſt, rather diſſimuling then deſpiſing the peril he was in: but his perpetual felicity never failed him in extremities, for at the firſt encounter he ſtrake the Captain of the Perſians (who in eagerneſſe of the fight unadviſedly came againſt him) through with a Spear. When he with that blow was ſtricken to the ground, *Alexander* ſlew the next unto him with the ſame ſtaffe, and after him, divers others.

When his company ſaw their enemies amazed with his doings, they brake upon them, and threw many to the earth: yet they for their parts were not unrevenged, for the whole battel did not ſo earneſtly fight as that ſmall band aſſembled ſo by chance. But at length, when they ſaw flying in the dark to be more ſafe unto them then fighting, they ſhocked away in divers companies. *Alexander* having eſcaped this extraordinary peril, brought his men in ſafeguard unto his Camp.

There were ſlain of the Perſians which came to the knowledge of them

them that had the victory, Fourty thousand, and of the Macedons less then Three hundred; which victory *Alexander* won more by his own vertue, then by any fortune: and with hardiness and courage, more then through any advantage of the ground. For he both ordered his battels politickly, and fought manfully. With great wisdome he contemned the losse of the Baggage, considering the weight of the whole matter to consist in the Battel it self. Whilest the fortune of the field remained doubtfull, he used himself as assured of the victory; and whenhe had put his enemies in fear, he ceased not till he had set them flying: and that which scarcely can be beleeved, in that fierceness of courage, he pursued in the chase more wisely then greedily. For if he should have followed on still, part of his power yet fighting in the field, he should either have lost the Battel through his own fault, or else have won the victory through the proweſſe of another: Or if after he had obtained the victory, he had shewed himself afraid of the Horsemen that he met, he must either shamefully have fled, or have been miserably slain.

Nor were his Captains to be defrauded of their due commendation, for the wounds that they did receive were tokens of their manhood. *Ephestions* arm was wounded with a spear, *Perdicas*, *Cenes*, and *Medinas* with shot of arrows were almost slain outright. And if we will give a true judgement of the Macedons that were there, we must confess, that he was a King worthy of such Ministers, and they men worthy of so great a Master.

O The

The Fifth Book of

QUINTUS CURTIUS

OF

The Acts of *Alexander* The Great, King of *Macedon.*

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

IF I ſhould here make mention of the wars that in the mean ſeaſan intervened both in *Greece*, *Italy*, and in *Thracia*, and of the revolters that were checked and ſubdued by the appointment and commiſſion of *Alexander*, the proceedings in *Aſia* would thereby be interrupted, which I thought moſt convenient to put wholly together, untill the death of *Darius*, and then to joyn them in this work, as they agree with the time. I will firſt ſpeak of thoſe things that enſued after the battel of *Arbella*, where *Darius* arrived about midnight, and, as it chanced, the greater part of his friends, whom he called all together, and ſpake to them to this effect.

That he doubted not but *Alexander* and his ſouldiers, greedy of the aboundance of the ſpoil which was in a readineſs for them, would viſit ſuch cities and countries of his as were moſt famous for their ſcituation and wealth, which thing, he ſaid, conſidering his eſtate, could not but turn at length to his advantage. His purpoſe was in a ſwift march to repair into the deſarts. And ſeeing the uttermoſt bounds of his Kingdome were yet untouched, he might eaſily repair his power from thence to renew the war. Let therefore that greedy nation (quoth he) take my treaſure and ſatisfie their hunger with gold, which ſhortly ſhall cauſe both the ſame and themſelves alſo to be a prey unto us. For (he ſaid) he had learned by experience, that the flocks of Concubines and Eunuches were nothing elſe but burthens and impediments, which *Alexander* poſſeſsing and carrying about with him, it would at the laſt make him inferiour unto them of whom before he was victorious.

His Oration ſeemed to all men to be full of deſperation: for they ſaw thereby that the rich City of *Babilon* ſhould be given up unto the Macedons

Macedons, and *Susa* shortly after with all other ornaments of the realm, which were the cause of the war, But he proceeded in perswading them, how that men in adversity ought not to do things that should seem goodly in the speaking, but necessary in the experience. That wars were made with Iron, and not with gold, with men, and not with the wals of Cities, for all things follow them that are armed, and in strength. He shewed that his Ancestors, famous for their atchievements, were afflicted after this manner, in the beginning, and yet recovered again quickly their former estate. After he had spoken these words, either for that they were thereby encouraged, or else that they rather obeyed his authority then liked his counsel, they followed him into the bounds of *Media*. Shortly after, *Arbella* was delivered up to *Alexander*, which was full of treasure, and precious moveables, and besides the pay of the whole army was left there. The sickness that began in *Alexanders* Camp, rising of the savour of the dead bodies, which were scattered over all the fields, was the cause that he did the sooner remove. The plain country of *Arabia* famous with the aboundance of sweet odours there growing, lay upon the right hand as they marched, And so passing through the Countrey lying between *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, which is so fat and plentifull a ground, that the inhabitants are fain to drive their beasts from feeding, lest a surfeit should destroy them. The cause of this fertility, commeth by the moisture that issueth from both rivers sweating by veins, through the ground. Both these Rivers have their beginnings in the mountains of *Armenia*, where they be distant 2500 furlongs, and so run forwards keeping their distance, til they come near unto the bounds of *Media* and *Gordia*. For there by little and little, they draw more near together, leaving less space betwixt them. They enclose on both sides the countrey that is called *Mesopotamia*, from whence they run through the bounds of *Babylon* into the red sea. After *Alexander* had changed his Camp four times, he came to a City called *Memnium*, where there is a fountain within a cave that belcheth out great plenty of pitch, so that it appeares the Babylonians had their cement from thence which they imployed about the making of their walls of an incredible breadth and compass. As *Alexander* was going from thence towards *Babylon*, *Mazeus* who was said before to have fled from the battel, came to meet him in most humble manner, whereas committing his children into his hands, he yeelded himself and rendred up the City. His comming was very gratefull unto

the King, conſidering what travel he ſhould have ſuſtained in the ſiege of ſo ſtrong a City, if it had been kept againſt him. And beſides for ſo much as *Mazeus* was a man both famous and valiant, and much commended for his atchievements in the laſt battel, and conceived his example ſhould much provoke others to do the like, hee received both him and his children in gentle manner, and yet gave order to his men, that they ſhould enter into the City in ſuch aray of battel as if they were preſently to fight. A great number of the Babylonians ſtood upon the walls, deſirous to behold him that was their new King, but the moſt part went forth to meet him. *Bagiſtines* that was Captain of the Caſtle, and keeper of the Kings treaſure, becauſe he would ſhew himſelf to be no leſs affectionate towards *Alexander* then *Mazeus* was, ſtrowed all the waies, where he ſhould paſs, with flowers and garlands, and ſet altars of ſilver on both ſides, with frankincenſe burning upon the ſame, and all other kind of ſweet odors. Next unto him came Droves of beaſts, great numbers of horſes, with Lyons and Pardales lying in their Dens, which he brought as preſents to give unto *Alexander*. And after them the wiſe men, ſinging according to their Countrey manner. The Caldæans followed next with their Diviners and Prophets, and then the Muſitians with ſeveral kinds of inſtruments, whoſe property was to ſing the praiſes of their Kings: & the Caldæans who uſed to declare the motion of the Planets, with the courſe and revolution of the times. Laſt in order came the Babylonian horſemen, whoſe ſumptuous furniture both for themſelves and their horſes, tended more to voluptuouſneſs and delicacy, then to any magnificence. *Alexander* that was incloſed about with armed men, willed that the Babylonians ſhould come behind his footmen, and he riding aloft in his Chariot, entred into the City, and afterwards into the Palace, where the next day he ſurveyed *Darius* his Wardrob and his treaſures. The beauty and pleaſantneſs of that City gave juſt occaſion to *Alexander*, and ſuch as were with him to admire it much. *Semiramis* was the builder thereof or as ſome affirm, *Belus* whoſe Palace is to be ſeen there. The walls are made with brick, interlined with pitch; they be 32 foot in breadth, ſo that two carts may eaſily go upon them on front. They be in height one hundred cubits, and the Towers be ten foot higher then the walls, the compaſs of the whole work about is 368 furlongs, being builded (as it is left in memory) in ſo many days. The houſes ſtand the breadth of an Acre diſtant from the walls, they are

contiguous

contiguous, houſe to houſe, by the ſpace onely of ninety furlongs, in other places not joyned near to one another, but for ſome conſiderations ſo divided aſunder. The reſt of the ground is ſowed & tilled, to the intent that if any forreign power come againſt them, they ſhould be able to be relieved by the fruit thereof. The river of *Euphrates* doth run through the middeſt of the City, and is kept in on both ſides with walls of a wonderful workmanſhip. But the great channels made of brick, and faſtened with pitch inſtead of Mortar, & wrought low within the ground, to receive the violence of the ſtream, do exceed all the reſt of the works there made: for except the ſame were of quantity and largeneſs to receive the water when the ſtream floweth over the banks that be made to keep it in, the violence thereof would bear down the houſes of the City. There is alſo over the river a ſtone bridge which joyneth both parts of the City together, counted amongſt the marvellous works of the Orient. For becauſe that *Euphrates* is ſo full of ſand and owſe, there can hardly ground be found to lay that foundation upon, and the ſtream beſides caſteth up ſuch heaps of ſand againſt the bridge, that it is an impediment for the water freely to paſs, and therefore the river beateth upon the bridge with greater force, then if it had his free courſe.

There is alſo a Caſtle that is twenty furlongs about, the Towers whereof be thirty foot deep within the ground, and fourſcore foot in height above the ground, where alſo the wonders are to be ſeen ſo often mentioned in the Greek Poets; for in the ſame are whole Groves of Trees ſet by wonderfull Art, as if hanging in the air, and ſo high as are the tops of the Towers, which Trees are marvellouſly beautiful and pleaſant through their height and ſhadow which they make. The whole weight of them is ſuſtained & born upby huge Pillars made of ſtone, upon which there is a floor of ſquare ſtone, that both upholdeth the earth that lieth deep on the pillar, and alſo the humor wherewith it is watred. The trees that grow thereupon be of 8 cubits about, and as fruitfull as if they grew on natural earth. And although that proceſs of time by little and little doth not onely deſtroy things made with hands, but alſo the very works of nature: yet this work for all it is oppreſſed with the roots of ſo many trees, and burthened with the weight of ſo much earth, doth yet remain unperiſhed, being ſuſtained up with 20 broad wals diſtant 11 foot one from another. When theſe trees be ſeen a far off, they ſeem to be a wood growing upon a mountain. It is ſaid that a King of *Syria* reigning in *Babylon*, builded this work for his wives fancy, who for the love ſhe had to Groves and ſhadowy places, moved her

Husband in doing thereof to counterfeit the pleaſantneſs of nature, *Alexander* tarried longer here then in any other City, which corrupted more the diſcipline of the Macedons in their wars then any other place. For nothing was more licentious then the manners and cuſtomes of the City, nor was any other place more aboundantly furniſhed of all things, wherewith men be allured and ſtirred to exceſs of pleaſures. The parents and husbands were contented that their children and wives ſhould for gain embrace ſuch ſtrangers as came amongſt them. The Kings and Nobility of *Perſia*, delight much in plays and banquetting, but the Babylonians be ſpecially addicted unto wine and drunkenneſs, where the women uſe ſuch a cuſtome, that in the beginning of the feaſt their apparel ſeemeth civil and demure, but afterwards by little and little they put of their uppermoſt garments, and laying aſide all modeſty they at laſt do diſcover themſelves naked. Which vile cuſtome is not uſed by harlots onely, but by all women in general, who eſteem the making of their bodies common but civility and good manners: in this voluptuouſneſs the Conqueror of *Aſia* wallowed by the ſpace of 34 days, whereby he became much the weaker to have done other enterprizes, if therehad been an enemy to have ſtood againſt him. But to the intent the damage ſhould be the leſſe perceived, he increaſed his power with a new ſupply out of Macedonia. For *Amintas* the ſon of *Andromenes* brought him from *Antipater* 6000 footmen, and 500 horſemen, and with them 500 of the Thracian horſemen, & 3500 footmen of the ſame nation. He had alſo out of *Peloponeſus* 4000 footmen, and 480 horſemen, being all mercenary ſouldiers. *Amintas* alſo brought with him fifty of the young men of the Nobility of *Macedonia*, to attend upon *Alexanders* perſon: whoſe office it was to ſerve the King at Table, and to bring him his horſe when he went to battel. They accuſtomed to be about him when he hunted, and kept watch by courſe at his chamber door. Theſe were they who afterwards proved great Captains, and out of whoſe loins the rulers of the men of war did come.

Alexander appointed *Agathon* Captain of the Caſtle of *Babilon*, with 700. Macedons, and 300. mercenary ſouldiers, and left *Minetas* and *Appolidorus* Governours of the City and Countrey, to whom he aſſigned 2000. footmen, and 1000. Talents, giving them a Commiſſion to levie more ſouldiers. He made *Mazeus* that gave the City into his hands, Lieutenant of the whole, and cauſed *Bagiſtines* that yeelded up the Caſtle to follow him in his wars. *Armenia* was given to

to *Mithrenes* that betrayed the City of *Sardis*, and to encourage his men to enterprse new achievements, he gave out out of the treasure of *Babilon* to every Macedon Horseman 500 Deniers, to every Horseman of the strangers 500. and to every Footman 200. When he had set all these things in order, he came into the Countrey called *Atrapene*, which being plentifull of all things, and abounding in victuals, caused the King to tarry the longer there. And lest idleness should be any abatement to the courage of his men, hee contrived a way to stir up their spirits, and to keep them occupied, by appointing Judges to try out such as had shewed themselves most valiant in the wars, to whom he assigned rewards due to their deservings. There were Eight found out, whose manhood appeared above the rest, and the charge of 1000. men was committed to every one of them, who were then called *Chiliarchi*: this was the first time time they put 1000. into a Regiment, for before this they were divided onely into 500. which was not counted any great preferment, or reward of service. The number of them were great that came to plead their right in this behalf, who before the Judges that gave sentence brought in a testimony of their atchievements, whereby it could not be unknown which of them had justly purchased such honour or not. The first place was adjudged to the elder *Adarchias* for his valiantness in the Battel at *Alicarnasson*, where he chiefly did restore again the fight, when the young souldiers had given it over. The second place of honour was given to *Antigonus*, and *Philotas* *Angeus* obtained the third, the fourth was adjudged to *Amintas*, the fifth to *Antigonus*, *Amintas* the son of *Lyncesters* obtained the sixth, *Theodorus* the seventh, and *Hellanicus* the last. He also profitably altered many things that were used by his Predecessours in the discipline of war: For whereas before the Horsemen of every Countrey were in several bands by themselves, he without respect of any nation, appointed them such Captains as he thoughs expedient. And whereas at the removing of the Camp, warning was wont to be given by a Trumpet, the sound whereof in any noise or tumult could not be sufficiently heard, he caused an high Pole to be alwayes set up before his Pavilion, on the top whereof an Enfign was fastened, apparent to all men; the other tokens which they observed, were fire in the night, and smoak in the day.

As he was marching towards *Susa*, *Abulites* that was ruler of that Region, either by *Darius* commandement, thinking by means of the

spoil

ſpoil either to divert *Alexander*, or by his own free will, ſent his ſon to meet him, proffering the delivery of the City. The young man was intreated very gently, and by his conduct *Alexander* paſſed forwards, till he came to the River of *Hydaſpis*, which is eſteemed to be a very delicate water. *Abulites* there met *Alexander* with many and princely gifts, and preſented him amongſt other things, with Dromedaries that were wonderfully ſwift, & with twelve Elephants that *Darius* had ſent for out of *India*, to be a terrour to the Macedons, which now were become an increaſe of their ſtrength. When the riches of the Conquered was come into the hands of the Conquerour, he found in that City an incredible treaſure, 50000. Talents of maſſie ſilver uncoyned, which riches gathered together in the ſpace of many years by divers Kings, for their ſucceſſion and poſterity, came thus in a moment into the hands of a forreign Prince.

Alexander being lodged within the Pallace, did ſit down in *Darius* ſeat, which being higher then ſerved for his ſtature, by reaſon his feet could not reach to the ground, one of the Kings Pages put a board for him, underneath, to tread upon; whereat one of the Eunuches that belonged to *Darius* looked heavily, and fetched a deep ſigh, whoſe ſadneſs when *Alexander* perceived, he enquired of him the cauſe: He anſwered, that when he beheld the board whereon *Darius* was wont to eat, employed to ſo baſe a uſe, he could not behold it without grief. *Alexander* being aſhamed ſo much to much to miſuſe the thing that before was had in ſuch reverence, cauſed the ſame to be taken away: But *Philotas* made requeſt he ſhould not do ſo, but rather take it as a divination of his good luck and fortune, that the Table whereon his enemie did eat ſhould now become ſubject to his feet. *Alexander* purpoſing from thence to paſs into *Perſia*, committed the City of *Suſa* to *Archelaus* with 3000. men of war, and to *Xenophilus* the charge of the Caſtle, leaving ſuch Macedons as were aged there in Gariſon. but beſtowed the keeping of the Treaſure unto *Callicrates*, and reſtored to *Abulites* the Government and Principality of the Countrey of *Suſa*, leaving within the City, the mother, and the children of *Darius*. And for as much as *Alexander* had at the ſame time plenty of cloath of Purple, ſent him out of his countrey, with garments ready made after the Macedons manner, for the honour he bare to *Siſigambis* (whom he had in reverence as if ſhe had been his mother) he thought good to preſent part of them unto her, with the perſons that uſed

uſed to make them, and willed that if ſhe liked them, ſhe ſhould accuſtome her Neeces to make the like, and give them for preſents. At the declaring of which meſſage the tears flowed down her eys, which declared the gift not to be acceptable to her, for the Perſian Ladies take nothing in more contempt then to put their hands to Wool. When report was made to *Alexander* in what ſort ſhe had received his preſent, he thought the rudeneſs meet to be excuſed, and her to be comforted, therefore he came to viſit her, and ſaid:

This garment which I wear was both of the gift and making of my ſiſters: our cuſtomes brought me into errour. Therefore I deſire you, that you will not take mine ignorance in evil part. I truſt that otherwiſe I have obſerved ſufficiently all things which I knew to be your cuſtomes. When I underſtood that it was not lawfull for the Son to ſit in the Mothers preſence except ſhe doth give him leave, I would never whenſoever I came into your preſence ſit, until you willed me ſo to do. You would oftentimes have fallen down and worſhiped me, but I would not ſuffer you, but have ever honoured you, and given you the name due to my ſweet mother *Olympias*.

When the King with theſe words had pacified her, he departed, and by four encampings came unto a River that the Countrey men call *Paſitigris*, which ſpringing in the mountains of the Uxians, it runneth ſteep down amongſt the rocks with wooddie banks by the ſpace of 50. furlongs; but then deſcending into a plain, it becommeth navigable, and ſo runneth with a more quiet ſtream, and in a ſofter ground, by the ſpace of 600. Furlongs, till ſuch time as it doth enter into the Perſian ſea. *Alexander* paſſing this River with 9000. footmen of the Macedons, with the Agrians, the mercenary Greeks, and with 4000. Thracians, came amongſt the Uxians, whoſe Countrey is near unto *Suſa*, and ſtretcheth out into *Perſia*, leaving betwixt it and *Suſa* a narrow Streight. *Madates* had the rule of that Countrey, who was ſuch a man as was rare at that time; for he determined to abide all extremities for his duties ſake. Such as knew the Countrey, did inform *Alexander* that there was a privie way through the mountains, whereby men might get to the furthermoſt ſide of the chief City of that Countrey, and if he would ſend but a few that were light armed, they might be brought to a place where they ſhould appear above their enemies heads. This counſel liked him ſo well, that he made theſe Counſellours Guides for his army, and committed them to *Tauron*, whom he

appointed chief of the enterpriſe. He aſſigned unto him 1500 mercenary ſouldies, and 1000 Agrians, with whom after the Sun was gone down, he entred into his journey. *Alexander* in the third watch removed his Camp, and by the ſpring of the day had paſſed the ſtreights: there he ſet his men in hand for the cutting down of Timber for making of Towers, and all ſuch other things as pertained to the aſſault of a City, and ſo began his ſiege. It was a difficult matter to make the approach: the City ſtood ſo high, and the rocks gave ſuch impediment, that the ſouldiers were repulſed, and received many hurts contending both with the enemies, and the ſcituation of the place: notwithſtanding they gave it not over, by reaſon the King was alwaies amongſt the foremoſt, asking them if they were not aſhamed being the Conquerours of ſo many Cities, to be ſo long in the winning of a ſmall Caſtle, that was ſo obſcure and unknown in the world. As he was travelling amongſt the foremoſt, with darts and arrows they made many ſhot at him from the wals, but the ſouldiers defended him with their Targets, becauſe they could not perſwade him thence. At length *Tauron* appeared above the Caſtle of the City, at whoſe ſight his enemies hearts fainted, and the Macedons more fiercely did aſſail them. When they ſaw themſelves in this extremity, and perceived their power not able to withſtand the Macedons, they became of divers diſpoſitions, For ſome were determined to die, and many to fly away. But the greater part retired themſelves into the Caſtle, from whence they ſent unto *Alexander* 30 Embaſſadors to ask mercy. But he returned a ſad anſwer to them, that there was no pardon to be obtained at his hands, whereupon they being in the utmoſt danger o death, and excluded from all other remedies, ſent unto *Siſigambis*, by a privy way unknown to their enemies, making their requeſt that ſhe would vouchſafe to be a means to *Alexander* for the pacifying of his rigour towards them. In her onely they put their hope, knowing how much *Alexander* loved her, and that he eſteemed her as if ſhe had been his mother. And they thought ſhe would the rather encline to their deſire, becauſe *Madates* that was Captain there had married her ſifters daughter, whereby he became a Kinſman to *Darius*. *Siſigambis* ſtood long in denial of their requeſt, ſhewing that it agreed not with her fortune to become an interceſſour for others, adding thereunto that ſhe feared leaſt ſhe might miſuſe the favours, and make him weary of her importunities, for ſhe ſaid that ſhe had more remembrance that ſhe

was

was a priſonert then that ſhe was a Queen. But at length ſhe was overcome with their ſolicitations, and by her letters made intercеſſion unto *Alexander*, after ſuch ſort that ſhe firſt excuſed her ſelf of her ſute making, and after required him that he would pardon them, or at the leaſt wiſe that he would forgive her being Petitioner onely for the life of ſuch a one as was her friend and Kinſman, and now no longer an enemy, but in readineſs to ſubmit himſelf. This one thing is ſufficient to declare the moderation and clemency that was then in *Alexander*, for he did not onely pardon *Madates*, but alſo left the City untouched, granting to all that were within it their liberty, with enjoyment of their lands and goods without paying of any tribute; More then this ſhe could not have obtained of *Darius* being her ſon. When he had thus ſubdued the Uxians, he united them to the Province of *Suſa*, and purpoſing to paſs forwards, he divided his army into two parts, whereof he committed the one to *Parmenio* to be conducted through the plain Country, and reſerving ſuch a part as was peſtered leaſt with baggage, he took the way of the mountains which with a continual ridge runneth out in length from thence into *Perſia*. In his paſſage he plundered all the mountain Country, and arrived the third day in the confines of *Perſia*. The 5 day he entred in the ſtreights of *Pylæ Suſiæ*, which were defended by *Ariobarzanes* with 15000 footmen, who on the tops of the high and ſteep rocks that hung over on both ſides the way, at the firſt kept themſelves quiet on purpoſe, pretending a fear, untill ſuch time as the army was entred into the narroweſt of the ſtreights. But when they ſaw the Macedons paſs on forwards in contempt of them, then they threw down great ſtones upon them, which falling upon the undermoſt Rocks and there breaking in pieces, rebounded amongſt the Macedons, falling with ſuch violence, that they diſtreſsed whole Regiments at once. And beſides this, they did them great damage with ſhot of arrows and ſtones that they did caſt out of ſlings. Such as were men of courage were not ſo much grieved with the death and deſtruction that they ſaw there preſent, as that that they ſhould be ſlain after ſuch a manner like beaſts caught in a pit, whereas they could not be revenged upon their enemies. Their wrath hereupon was turned into ſuch a rage, that they ran up againſt the Rocks. and there enforced themſelves by taking hold and by heaving up of one another, to mount up unto their enemies. But when they had caught hold of ſome outward part and thereby laboured to aſcend

(by force of ſo many hands that faſtened to it at once) they pulled in ſunder the thing they held by, and fell down altogether. In this caſe they could neither remaine, go forwards, nor yet defend themſelves by any device they could make with their Targets, ſeeing the ſtones were of ſuch weight that were thrown down upon them.

Alexander was in great trouble of mind, not onely for the grief he received by the deſtruction of his men, but much more for the ſhame that he had ſo raſhly brought his men into ſuch a dangerous ſtraight. He had been invincible before that day, and never attempted any thing in vain: He had paſſed the Straights of *Cilicia* without damage, and opened to himſelf a new way by ſea into *Pamphilia*, which felicity of his ſeemed to be now at a ſtay, if not to retreat, for he could perceive no other remedy, then to return by the way he came. He cauſed the retreat therefore to be ſounded, and gave order to his ſouldiers to go cloſe together, and by caſting their Targets over their heads to return the ſame way they came, having then marched thirty Furlongs within the Straight.

When he returned, and had planted his Camp in an open ground, conſulting what was beſt to do, ſuch a ſuperſtition invaded his mind, that he called for the Prieſts and Diviners to help the matter by their invocation: But *Ariſtander* to whom he gave moſt confidence, could do nothing in that cauſe. *Alexander* therefore condemning their Sacrifices, which he thought then done out of time, called for ſuch as knew the Countrey, they ſhewed him of another way that was plain and open enough, but yet he liked it not, he was ſo aſhamed to leave his Souldiers unburied that were ſlain: For amongſt all other Ceremonies obſerved in the diſcipline of their wars, there was not any more religiouſly kept, then the burying of the dead. He cauſed therefore ſuch priſoners as were lately taken, to be called before him, amongſt whom there was one expert both of the Greek and Perſian tongue, who ſhewed to the King that he laboured in vain, if he thought to convey his army over the tops of thoſe Mountains, which (he ſaid) began at Mount *Caucaſus*, and cloſed in the one ſide of *Perſia*, by the ſpace of 1600 Furlons in length, and 140 in breadth, till ſuch time as they deſcend unto the ſea, which maketh another Fence where the mountains ceaſed. The Countrey lying at the foot of the mountains, he deſcribed to be plain, fruitfull, and repleniſhed with many fair Cities and Villages, and that the river of *Araxes* running through the ſame, fal-

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leth into another river called *Medus*, bringing with it the Tributes of many ſmaller ſtreams; which river of *Medus* being much leſſe then the ſame which it doth receive, runneth from thence towards the South. No place could be more abundant of graſſe, the river every where clothing with flowers, what it had bedwed with its waters. The river was ſhadowed over with Plantain and Poplar trees, which by reaſon they ſtand ſomewhat high, and the water runneth low in a deep channel, ſeem to ſuch as be a far off, to be woods adjoyning to the mountains. He accounted no countrey in *Aſia* to be more wholeſome, or to have a more temperate air then this, both by reaſon of ſhadowie mountains that evermore keep of the heat, and alſo of the Sea, which on that part being at hand, with a conſtant temperature doth nouriſh the ground.

When the priſoner had made a deſcription of the Countrey after this manner, the King inquired of him whether he know thoſe things by report, or elſe had ſeen them with his eies. He ſaid that had been a Heards-man, and knew the Country very well, and all the paſſages, and that he had been twice taken priſoner: once by the Perſians in *Lycia*, and now the ſecond time by him. Upon theſe words *Alexander* called an Oracle to memory, whereby it was ſignified to him, that a Lycian ſhould bee his guide into *Perſia*. Wherefore promiſing to him ſuch rewards as the preſent neceſſity required, and as his eſtate was meet to receive, he willed him to be armed after the Macedons manner, and to be their guide to ſhew them the way, which way though he had declared to be ſtreight & difficult, yet *Alexander* made no doubt to paſs it with a ſmall number, thinking it no difficult matter to paſs that place for his glory, which the Heards-man had paſſed oftentimes for the profit of paſture. Then the guide left not to alledge the difficulties of the way, ſpecially for ſuch as wear arms: but the King ſaid to him, take me for ſurety, that not one of them that be appointed thee, ſhall refuſe to go where thou ſhalt paſs.

That done, he left *Craterus* with the charge of his Camp, and he himſelf paſſed forwards with ſuch footmen as were accuſtomed to his perſon, with thoſe bands of whom *Meleager* had charge, and with a thouſand archers on horſeback, taking firſt order with *Craterus* that he ſhould keep his Camp in the ſame forme it had been uſed before, and cauſe many fires to be made of purpoſe, that the enemies might rather think him to be there ſtill preſent: he adviſed him further that if he perceived *Ariobarzanes* to get knowledge of his enterpriſe, and ſo to

ſend part of his power to the ſtopping of his paſſage, that then by pretending of an aſſault, he ſhould ſhew all the terror he could to draw his enemies from him, to the defence of that place. But if that he himſelf ſhould deceive his enemies, and recover the hill upon them, that then upon the hearing of the alarum in the Camp of the Perſians, preparing themſelves to reſiſt him, he ſhould not doubt to paſs that way from whence they were repulſed the day before, judging they ſhould find no reſiſtance, the enemies power being converted towards him. In the third watch he ſet forwards in great ſilence, without ſounding of Trumpet, & paſſed on by ſuch a way as was ſhewed him by the guide, every ſouldier that was light armed carrying three days victuals. But when he was on his way, beſides the wild rocks and ſharp ſtones that cauſed them oft to fail their footing, the ſnow driven by the wind was a great impediment to them in their journey, for they fell divers times down into pits, and ſuch as covered to pull them out, were oft-times themſelves drawn after. The night alſo, with the Countrey unknown, and the guide, of whoſe fidelity they doubted, encreaſed much their fear, conſidering that if they ſhould not deceive their enemies watch, they ſhould be taken and periſh like beaſts. They conſidered alſo, that both their ſafeguard and the Kings lay in the hands of a priſoner.

At length they came to a Mountain, where the way towards *Ariobarzanes* lay on the right hand, where he ſent before, under the guiding of ſuch as they had taken priſoners, *Philotas*, *Cenon*, *Amintas*, and *Polipercon*, with a band of the lighteſt armed, whom he adviſed, that foraſmuch as they had both horſemen and footmen, and the Countrey fertile and abundant in forrage, that they ſhould make no haſte, but paſſe forwards fair and eaſily & be with the Eſquires of his body, & the band of horſemen whom they called *Agema*, was guided by an other by-path, far off from the place where his enemies kept their watch: But the paſſage was ſo ſtraight and ſo hollow, that they ſuffered great trouble and vexation in paſſing thereof. It was now mid-day, and they were ſo wearied, that of neceſſity they muſt take reſt, having ſo far to go, as they had travelled already, ſaving that the way was not altogether ſo difficult and rough. He refreſhed therefore his men with meat and ſleep, and in the ſecond watch did riſe up, and paſſed the reſt of his journey without any great difficulty, ſaving in that part where the Mountain began to fall aſlope towards the plain, their

their paſſage was there ſuddenly ſtopped by a great gull, occaſioned by the violence of the ſtreams that ran down the Mountains, by wearing away the earth, and beſides the trees ſtanding ſo thick, and the boughs that grew one within another appeared before them as a continual hedge. When they ſaw themſelves ſtayed after this manner, ſuch deſparation fell amongſt them, that they could ſcarcely abſtain from tears, the darkneſſe being a great increaſe of their terrour, ſeeing they could not enjoy any benefit of the ſtars, for if any gave light, the ſame was taken away by the ſhadow of the trees. And the uſe of the ear could not ſerve for one to receive counſel and comfort from another, the wind whirled amongſt the leaves, and the ſhaking of the boughs made an amazing noiſe. But at length the day increaſing in its light, diminiſhed the terrours that the darkneſs of the night had made. Then by fetching a little compaſſe about, they paſſed the hollow gull, and every man began to be a guide to himſelf. At laſt they got up on the top of the hill, from whence they might behold their enemies in their Camp. Then the Macedons ſhewed themſelves ſtoutly in their armour, appearing ſuddenly on their backs; when they miſtruſted no ſuch thing, and there ſlew ſuch as came firſt to encounter with them: So that on the one part the grievous noiſe of them that were ſlain, and the miſerable ſhreik of ſuch as ran in for ſuccour amongſt their own company, put the reſt to flight without making any reſiſtance, When the alarm was once heard in the Camp where *Craterus* lay, the army by and by paſſed forward to go through the Streights in the which they were repulſed the day before. *Philotas* alſo, with *Polipercon*, *Cenos*, and *Amintas*, who were gone the other way, arrived at the ſame time, and gave a further terrour unto their enemies. When the Perſians ſaw their enemies aſſailing them in all parts at once, though they were ſo oppreſt with their ſudden invaſion, that at the firſt they were in doubt what to do, yet at length they aſſembled together, and fought notably, neceſſity ſtiring up the faintneſſe of their hearts: for oftentimes deſpair is the cauſe of good hope. They being unarmed, cloſed with them that were armed, and with the weight of their bodies pulled their enemies to the earth, and killed divers with their own weapons. *Ariobarzanes* with 40. horſemen, and 5000. footmen that kept about his perſon, brake through the battel of the Macedons, to the great ſlaughter of his own men and his enemies, and by making haſt recovered *Perſepolis* the chief City of the Countrey. But when he was exs

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cluded from thence by ſuch as were within, he renued again the fight with ſuch as were with him, and ſo was ſlain. By that time *Craterus* that made all the ſpeed he could was come unto them, *Alexander* fortified his Camp in the ſame place, where he did diſcomfite his enemies. For though they were all fled and he certain of the victory, yet becauſe he found his way ſtopped in many places with great and deep ditches, he thought good to uſe circumſpection, and not to make too great a ſpeed: not ſo much by fear of his enemies force, as by reaſon of the nature of the ground, which he found apt for them to lay ambuſhments againſt him. As he was paſſing forwards he received letters from *Tyridates* the keeper of *Darius* treaſure, ſignifying that the inhabiters of *Perſepolis* hearing of his comming, were about to ſpoil the treaſure, and that therefore he ſhould haſt to prevent it, for the way was ready enough, notwithſtanding the river of *Araxes* interpoſed, There was no vertue in *Alexander* more commendable then his celerity, which he ſhewed ſpecially in this: for leaving his footmen behind, he travelled all night with his horſemen, and by day light came to the river of *Araxes*, there he found many villages and houſes, whoſe Timber being taken down, a bridge was raiſed in a moment, by the help of ſtones which were found in the bottome of the river.

When *Alexander* was paſſed the river, and came near unto the City, a company met him ſo miſerable, as ſeldome have been found in any memory. They were Greeks, to the number of four thouſand, whom the Perſians heretofore had taken priſoners, and afflicted with divers kinds of torments. For ſome of them had their feet cut off, ſome their hands, and others their ears but all were marked in the fleſh with hot Irons. The Perſians having maimed and deformed them after this manner, kept and reſerved them ſtill, as a memory of their deſpite towards the nation. But when they ſaw they ſhould come under the obedience of another Prince, they ſuffered the Greeks to meet *Alexander*. They ſeemed rather to be Spectters then men: for nothing could bee diſcerned or known but their voice. The compaſſion of their wretched eſtate, cauſed the beholders to let fall no fewer tears then they did themſelves. For it could not appear which of them were moſt miſerable, though their afflictions were divers. But when they had cried out before *Alexander* that *Iupiter* the revenger of *Greece* had opened their eyes in beholding him that ſhould deliver them, they judged then all their griefs as one. *Alexander* wiped the tears from his eyes, and willed

led them to be of good chear, for that they ſhould both ſee their country and their friends, and he encamped at the ſame place where he met them, being two furlongs from *Perſepolis*. The Greeks drew themſelves together to conſult what was beſt for them to demand of *Alexander*, & when ſome were of opinion to ask dwelling places within *Aſia*, and others had more mind to return unto their countries, *Eulhemon* the Cymæan, ſpake thus unto them, We that even now were aſhamed to put our heads out of the priſon and darkneſs we were in, to make ſuit for our own aid and relief, are becom of ſuch ſimplicity, that we preſently deſire to ſhew unto *Greece* as a pleaſant ſpectacle, our deformities & maims, whereof we have as much cauſe to be aſhamed; as to be grieved. You muſt think that ſuch bear their miſeries beſt, who can find the means to hide them moſt, and that there is no countrey ſo familiar to men that be unfortunate, as ſolitarines & forgetfulnes of their former eſtate. For they which make an account of their friends pitty and compaſſion, know not how ſoon their tears may dry up: no creatures can love thoſe faithfully whom they abhor. For as calamity of her own nature is full of complaint, ſo felicity is alwayes proud, and every one doth uſe to think of his own fortune, when he judgeth of his neighbours: For except we had all been in miſery, one of us long ago had been weary of another. What marvell is it then though men in felicity ſeek alwaies their equals. My opinion is therefore, that we (who as men long ago were as dead in this life) ſeek us a place wherein we may hide our maimed members, and whereas exile may conceal our horrible deformities. If we ſhall return into our countrey, being in this caſe, how can we but be unwelcome to our wives whom we married young? or ſhall our children or our brethren now acknowledge us, being the vomits of ſo many priſons, and though all things ſhould there ſucceed as we could wiſh, yet how ſmall a number of us are able to travel through ſo many countries? how is it poſſible for us that be here baniſhed into the uttermoſt bounds of the Orient, being aged, impotent, and maimed, to endure thoſe travel's which have wearied men who have been both armed and conquerors? It is to be asked what ſhal become of our wives, whom chance & neceſſity hath here procured us, for the onely comfort of our impriſonment what ſhal we do with our children we have begoteh her, ſhal we take them with us, or leave them behind us? If we return with ſuch as we have here, none of thoſe in *Greece* will acknowledge us, and ſhal we then be ſo mad to leave thoſe comforts we have already being uncertain whether we ſhal arrive at thoſe which we deſire, or not.

Verily much better it were for us, to conceal our selves amongst them who have been acquainted with us in our misery.

These were *Eudemon* his words: but *Theatus* the Athenian reasoned to the contrary.

There is no wise man (quoth he) that will esteem us by our outward shape, seeing that our calamity is not come by nature, but by the cruelty of our enemies. Such as are ashamed of the injuries of fortune, are well worthy to suffer misadventure. They give a grievous sentence upon the state of mans mortality, and despair much of mercy, who deny their compassion to men in misery. Now therefore since the Gods have offered to you what ye durst never have wished for, that is, your country, your wives and your children, being the things which men esteem more then life, and redeem oftentimes with death: why do you doubt for the enjoyment of those things to break out of this imprisonment? I judge the air of our own Countrey most natural to us, where there is another manner of living, other customes, other religion, and another tongue, which for the pleasantnesse of it is coveted of the barbarous nations. What great things then be those which ye would willingly leave, the want of which onely is the cause of your misery? My opinion is plain that we visit our countrey and our home and not refuse so great a benefit as *Alexander* hath proffered us. If any be detained with the love of such wives and children as they have gotten here in servitude, let such be no impediment to others, that esteem most their natural countrey.

There were but few of this opinion, for custome that is of greater force then nature, prevailed in that point. They agreed therefore to demand of *Alexander* the gift of some place to inhabit in, and chose out a hundred to be Petitioners to him in that behalf. When *Alexander* perceived them comming towards him, thinking that they would have required, what he had conceived, he said unto them:

I have apointed to every one of you beasts to carry you, and a thousand Deniers, and when you shall come to *Greece*, I will so well provide for you, that excepting your misfortune no man shall think himself in better case then you.

But when he saw them look still toward the ground, and that they neither lifted up their eyes nor spake one word, he inquired the cause of their heavinesse. Then *Eudemon* rehearsed again those words in effect which he had spoken before in Councel. The King therefore pitying

tying no leſs their demand then he did their misfortune, commanded three thouſand Deniers to be given to every one of them, and ten ſuits of apparel with cattel and corn, whereby they might till and ſow the land that ſhould be appointed to them. The next day he aſſembled all the Captains of his army together, and repreſented to them that there was no City more enemy to the Greeks then the ſame that was the chief ſeat of the ancient Kings of *Perſia*, from whence all the great enemies had been ſent into *Greece*: how *Darius* firſt, and after him *Xerxes*, had come out of that place to move their unjuſt war againſt *Europe*, with the deſtruction of which City he thought good to revenge the bloud of their predeceſſours. The inhabitants had abandoned that City, and fled where their fear did drive them. Whereupon the King ſtraightwaies brought in all the Phalanx to the ſpoil thereof. He had before that time won many Cities, ſome by force, and ſome by compoſition, that were full of riches and of Princes treaſure, but the abundance of that City did exceed all the reſt, as being the place where the Perſians had laid up all their ſubſtance: Gold and ſilver was found in heaps, and great plenty of rich habiliments and furniture of houſes, not onely for neceſſary uſe but for exceſs and oſtentation, which was ſo great, that it gave the Conquerours occaſion to fight for it amongſt themſelves, each taking other for enemies that had gotten the richeſt ſpoil. The abundance there, was ſuch, that they could not imploy the riches which they found, but when they ſaw things of value, they eſteemed them rather, then took them away. At laſt every one of them coveting to have a part of every thing, did tear and break aſunder the Princely robes, and the precious plate of curious workmanſhip, with the images of gold and ſilver which were plucked in pieces, as every one caught hold, nothing was left untouched nor any thing carried away whole: cruelty bearing no leſs rule then covetouſneſs, every one was ſo laden with gold and ſilver, that they eſteemed not the keeping of their priſoners, but killed ſuch as at firſt they firſt ſpared in hope of gain. There were many therefore that prevented their enemies by a voluntary death, and divers clothing themſelves in their moſt precious apparel leaped down from the walls with their wives and children. Certain there were that ſet their own houſes on fire, (which they judged their enemies would elſe have done) and burned themſelves with their family together. At length the King did forbid any violence to be done to women, and that no man ſhould meddle with any thing pertaining

to them. The ſum of money taken within this City, was greater then any man can well credit; but either we muſt doubt with others, or elſe beleeve what hath been left in memory, that the treaſure there found amounted to a hundred and twenty thouſand Talents: which treaſure, becauſe *Alexander* would employ in his wars, he cauſed horſes and camels to be brought from *Suſe* and *Babilon* to convey the ſame. The taking of the City of *Perſagadis*, wherein were found ſix thouſand Talents, was an increaſe to this ſum, which City being built by *Cyrus*, was yeelded up by *Gobates* who had the Government there of.

Alexander left in the Caſtle of *Perſepolis* three thouſand Macedons in Gariſon, under *Nicarides* Captain of the ſame, and reſerved to *Tyridates* that delivered him the Treaſure, the ſame honour that he enjoyed with *Darius*. Leaving in this City the greater part of his Army, with his carriages, under the rule of *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, he with a thouſand horſemen, and a band of footmen, without any baggage, went to viſit in the winter ſeaſon the inward parts of *Perſia*. There he was vexed with ſtorms and tempeſts that were in a manner intollerable, but yet he advanced forwards in his enterpriſe, to the place appointed. In his march he came unto a Countrey that was covered with ſnow, and frozen by the violence of the great cold. The melancholy of the wilderneſs put the ſouldiers that were wearied with travel in ſuch a terrour, that they imagined they had ſeen the uttermoſt bounds of the world; for when they beheld all things waſte, and no ſign appearing of the habitation of men, they were amazed, and made requeſt to return again before that the light and elements ſhould fail them. The King would not chaſtiſe them being in this terrour, but leaped from his horſe, and marched on foot before them in the Snow and the Ice: Which thing when his friends ſaw, they could not for ſhame but follow, then the Captains did the like, and finally the ſouldiers. The King was the firſt that made himſelf a way by breaking the ice with a piek-axe, whoſe example the reſt did follow. At length, having paſſed the deſolate woods, they found here and there ſome appearance of habitation, and diſcovered flocks of ſheep. When the inhabitants, who dwelled in the cottages diſperſed thereabouts, ſaw armed men advancing, whom they judged to be their enemies, thinking they had been encloſed about, they flew ſuch as were not able to follow them, and fled themſelves to the Mountains that were full of ſnow. But at length by

by communication with ſuch as they took priſoners, their wildneſs was ſomewhat mittigated, and they yeelded themſelves to *Alexander*, who did them no hurt at all. When he had conquered all that part of *Perſia*, and brought the towns under his obedience, he came into the Country of the warlike Mardians, who did differ much from the reſt of the other Perſians in their manner of living: They with their wives and children did dig themſelves caves in the mountains, and lived with the fleſh of ſheep and wild beaſts; nor had the women any appearance or diſpoſition more ſoft or mild then the men; their ſhagged hair hung down before upon their faces, and their garments came but to their knees, the bands of their ſlings were fillets for their fore-heads, which they uſed both for ornament and defence. This nation, for all their uncivility could not eſcape from being ſubdued with the lame force of fortune that others were, ſo that on the thirtieth day after he departed from *Perſepolis*, he returned to it again. Then he gave rewards to his friends, and to all the reſt according to their deſervings, diſtributing in a manner all the riches which he found within that City. But all the excellent vertues of his mind, his princely qualities, wherein he excelled all Kings, that conſtancy in all dangers, that dexterity in contriving and performing all enterpriſes, the keeping of his promiſe with thoſe that ſubmitted, his clemency towards priſoners, and that temperance in lawfull and accuſtomary pleaſures, were all defaced through the intollerable deſire and delight he had in drinking. For notwithſtanding that his enemy which contended with him for the Empire, did make then great levies for the wars, and was gathering his power together, and although the people newly conquered were not yet in a quiet ſubjection, yet he gave himſelf continually to feaſting and banquetting, where women were ever preſent, not ſuch to whom men had reſpect of honeſty, but harlots, who had in the Camp more liberty, then beſeemed the diſcipline of men of war.

Amongſt them there was one *Thais*, who upon a day in her drunkenneſs, affirmed to *Alexander*, that he ſhould wonderfully win the favour of the Greeks, if he would command the Pallace of *Perſepolis* to be ſet on fire, the deſtruction whereof (ſhe ſaid) they greatly deſired, for ſo much as the ſame was the chief ſeat of the Kings of *Perſia*, which in times paſt had deſtroyed ſo many of their Cities. When the drunken harlot had given her ſentence, a ſecond and a third (they being likewiſe drunk) confirmed her words. *Alexander*, who then

had in him more inclination to heat then patience, ſaid, Why do we not then revenge *Greece*, and ſet this City on fire? They were all high with Wine, and roſe immediately upon thoſe words to burn that City in their drunkenneſs, which the men of war had ſpared in their fury. The King himſelf firſt, and after him his gueſts, his ſervants, and his concubines ſet fire on the Pallace, which being builded for the moſt part of Cedar, became ſuddenly on a flame. When the army that was encamped near unto the City beheld the fire, which they thought had been kindled by ſome caſualty, they came running to quench the ſame, But when they ſaw the King there preſent nouriſhing the flame, they powred out the water which they brought, and helped likewiſe to increaſe the fire.

Thus the Pallace that was the head of the whole Orient, from whence ſo many Nations before had fetched their Laws to live under, the ſeat of ſo many Kings, the onely terrour ſometimes of *Greece*, that had ſet forth a Navie of ten thouſand ſhips, and armies that overflowed all *Europe*, who made bridges over the ſea, and undermined mountains where the ſea hath now his courſe, was conſumed and had his end, and never roſe again in all the Ages that did enſue; For the Kings of *Macedonia* made choiſe of other Cities, which be now in the hands of the Parthians. The deſtruction of this City was ſuch, that the foundation thereof at this day cannot be found, but that the river of *Arraxes* doth ſhew where it ſtood, which was diſtant from *Perſepolis* twenty furlongs, as the inhabitants rather do beleeve then know. The Macedons were aſhamed that ſo noble a City was deſtroyed by their King in his drunkenneſs; yet at length it was turned into a work that carried gravity in the performance, and they were content to think it expedient that the City ſhould have been ſo deſtroyed. But it is certain, that when *Alexander* had taken his reſt, and was better adviſed, he repented him of this deed, and ſaid. That the Perſians ſhould have done the Greeks more harm if it had been his chance to have reigned in *Xerxes* ſtead. The next day he gave 30. Talents for a reward to him that was his guide into *Perſia*, and from thence he advanced forwards into *Media*, where a new ſupply of ſouldiers (of whom *Plato* of *Athens* had the conduct) came to him out of *Cilicia*, being five hundred footmen, and a thouſand horſemen.

When he had by this means encreaſed his power, he determined to purſue *Darius*, who was come to *Ecbatana*, the head City of *Media*,

Media, and was purposed from thence to have passed into *Bactria*: But fearing to be prevented by the speed which his enemies made, he altered his purpose and his journey. *Alexander* was not come near by 1500 furlongs, but he could not think any distance sufficient to defend him against his celerity, and therefore prepared himself rather to fight then to flie. He had with him 30000 footmen, amongst whom there was 4000 Greeks, whose fidelity never failed in all his adverse fortune. He had also 4000 archers and slingers, besides 3300 Bactrian horsemen, which were under *Bessus* charge, being Governour both of the City of *Bactria* and the Country. *Darius* with those forces withdrew a little from the high way, and commanding such as had charge of the cartiage to passe on before, he called a Councel, where he spake to this effect.

a Noble Speech of Darius

If fortune had matched me with cowards, and with such as preferred a vile life before an honest death, I would rather have held my peace then at this instant consume words in vain. But I have had greater experience then I would wish, both of your valour and fidelity towards me. So that I for my part ought rather to seem worthy to have such friends as you are, then to doubt whether ye yet remain the same men towards me ye were before. For of so many thousands that were under my Empire, you onely have followed and adhered to me: Though I have been twice overthrown in the field and twice inforced to flie away, your fidelity and your constancy doth make me think that I remain still a King. Traytors and fugitives do reign in my Cities, not for that they be thought worthy of such honor, but that you might be provoked by their rewards to revolt against me. Notwithstanding you have chosen rather to follow me in my misfortune, then be partakers of the felicity of the Conquerours. You are worthy whom the Gods shall reward if I may not, as undoubtedly they will. There can no posterity be so silent, nor fame so ungratefull, which shall not with due commendations extoll you to the starres. Though I had within me thoughts of flight, whereunto my heart never agreed; yet I have now conceived such a trust of your vertue and manhood, that I purpose to advance against mine enemy? How long shal I be as a banished man within mine own Dominion, and fly from a strange and forraign Prince within the bounds of mine own Kingdom? when may I by hazarding the battel, either recover what I have lost or else die an honourable death? Except peradventure it seemeth better

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to ſome men, that I ſhould ſubmit my ſelf to my enemies will, and by the example of *Mazeus* and *Mithrenes*, receive by Petition the Dominion of ſome one nation: wherein I judge that *Alexander* had rather follow the inclination of his glory, then of his wrath. No let the Gods never grant, that it may lie in a mans power, either to take away or give unto me this Diadem upon my head, nor that I loſe this Empire, ſo long as I have breath. For in this I am reſolved that my life and my Kingdome ſhall end both together. If this mind, if this reſolution remain in you, there is none of you that can want liberty, there is none that ſhall be compelled to endure the arrogancy of your enemies. Every mans right hand ſhall give unto himſelf either a revenge or an end of his evils. I my ſelf am example of fortune, and therefore it is not without cauſe that I look for a better change. And if the worſt fall out, that the Gods do continue againſt us in our wars that be lawfull and honeſt, yet this cannot be denied, but that we may manfully and honeſtly die, I require and conjure you by the honour of our Predeceſſours, who with ſuch fame and glory have poſſeſſed the Kingdomes of the whole Orient, by thoſe men to whom *Macedon* ſometime was tributary, by ſo many Navies of ſhips ſent into *Greece*, and by ſo many victories won, that ye will take ſuch courage unto you, as may ſeem worthy your Nobility and your Nation, and that with the ſame conſtancy of mind wherewith you have endured things paſt, you attempt whatſoever fortune ſhall produce hereafter. I am reſolved for my part to purchaſe to my ſelf a perpetuall fame either by victory, or by ſome notable adventure in the fight.

When *Darius* had ſpoken theſe words, the repreſentation of the preſent perill ſo amazed them all, that they were not able either to ſhew their advice, or to ſpeak a word, untill ſuch time as *Artabazus* the moſt ancient of his friends (who before time had been with King *Philip*) began to declare his reſolution.

We are come into the field (quoth he) with you that are our King, in our moſt precious apparel, and richeſt armour, with intent to win the victory, and we do neither diſpair of victory, nor do we refuſe to die.

To thoſe words all the reſt with one voice ſeemed to agree, ſaving *Nabarzanes* who being preſent in that Councel with *Beſſus*, and of his opinion, conſpired a treaſon ſo prodigious, that the like hath ſeldome been heard of. Their determination was by force of the ſouldi-

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ers they had under their charge, to put their King in hold, with this purpose, that if *Alexander* pursued them, to deliver him then alive into his hands, to win thereby his favour, as a thing which they thought he would greatly esteem. But if they could escape conveniently, then they were in mind to kill *Darius*, and dividing the Kingdome betwixt them, renue again the war against the Macedons. They having imagined this treason long before in their minds, *Nabarzanes* thought this an occasion to make a preparative to his wicked intent, by this perswasion which he uttered.

I am confident (quoth he) that I shall speak what at the first appearance shall not be gratefull unto your ears: but Physitians use to cure diseases that be great with sharp and bitter medicines. And the ship-masters when they fear a ship-wrack, accustome to redeem such things as may be saved, with the destruction and loss of the rest. Yet this what I shall perswade unto is not to your detriment but an expedient by what means you may preserve your self and your Kingdome. We make a war wherein the Gods seem manifestly to be against us, and fortune ceaseth not obstinately to pursue us. It is needfull therefore that we lay new foundations, and seek out men who have other fortunes. My opinion is, that you deliver up your Kingdome unto some mans hands who shall have the name of King, so long as your enemies are within *Asia*. And when they be once departed (which my mind giveth me to be shortly) he shall restore unto you the same again. The country of *Bactria* is yet untouched, the Indians and Sacans be at your appointment, so many people, so many armies, so many thousands of horsemen and footmen have their forces in readiness to renue this war. So that a much greater force remaineth then that which the war hath consumed. Why do we then like beasts wilfully run to a destruction that is not necessary? It is the property of such as be men of courage, rather to despise death, then to hate life, and oftentimes by wearines of travel, cowards are driven to take little regard of themselves, but vertue leaveth nothing unproved. And death being the end of all things, it is sufficient if we go not to it like sluggards. Therefore if we shall go unto *Bactria*, which is now our next refuge, let us, for the present, make *Bessus* our King, who is already ruler of that Country, and when the affairs be once brought to some stay, he shall restore to you the Empire again, as to the right King.

Although *Darius* perceived not the greatneſs of the miſchief that lay hidden under his wicked words, yet it was no marvel that he could not abſtain; for he turned towards him and ſaid, Thou vile ſlave, haſt thou now found out a time meet to diſcloſe the Treaſon that lieth in thy heart. And therewithal he pulled out his ſword to have ſlain him, if *Beſſus* and the other Bactrians about him had not hindred his purpoſe. Theſe pretended to be ſorry for the matter, but minded in very deed to bind him, if he had continued in his purpoſe.

In the mean ſeaſon *Nabarzanes* eſcaped away, and *Beſſus* followed after, who immediately did ſeparate the bands they had charge of, from the reſt of the army, becauſe they would uſe them apart to their own purpoſe. When they were departed, *Artabaſus* framed his talk according to the eſtate of the time then preſent, and began to pacifie *Darius* with words, putting him in remembrance how his caſe was ſuch, that it behoved him to bear quietly the fooliſhneſs, or rather the errour of his own men, for as much as *Alexander* was at hand, too ſore an enemy for them, although there were no diſobedience. But if we ſhall be at variance (quoth he) when he doth purſue us, our affairs ſhall ſtand in very evil condition. Thereupon *Darius* enclined ſomewhat to *Artabaſus* adviſe, and though he was minded to remove, yet becauſe he perceived every man to be troubled in mind, he remained ſtill in the ſame place. But he himſelf was ſo aſtoniſhed with ſorrow and deſperation, that he kept himſelf cloſe, and came not forth of his Pavilion: whereupon the Camp being without government, the heads not conſulting together as they did before, there aroſe amongſt them a great diverſity of opinions, and motions of mind. Which thing when *Patron* ſaw, that was Captain of the Greek Souldiers, he willed his men to put on their armour, to be in a readineſs to do as they ſhould be appointed. The Perſians encamped by themſelves, and *Beſſus* remained amonſt the Bactrians, practiſing to carry away the Perſians into *Bactria*, and to leave *Darius*, ſignifying to them the riches of that Region yet untouched, and the peril they were in if they remained there, but they were all in manner of one opinion, that it was over-great an offence for them to forſake their Prince.

In the mean ſeaſon *Artabaſus* executed the Kings office, and went amongſt the Perſians in their lodgings, admoniſhing and exhorting them, ſometimes apart, and otherwhile altogether, and would never leave them, before it appeared that they would do as the King would

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have them. That done, with great pain and difficulty he perſwaded *Darius* to take his meat, and ſet his mind upon his buſineſs.

But *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes* were ſo greedie to get the government into their hands, that they reſolved to put in execution the thing they had long conſpired betwixt them; for ſo long as *Darius* was in ſafety, they could not hope to compaſſe nor attain ſo great authority, the Majeſty of a King is had in ſo great veneration amongſt thoſe Nations, at whoſe name onely they aſſemble together, and the reverence uſed to them in their proſperity, cauſe men to ſhew them the like obedience in adverſity. The greatneſſe and power of thoſe countreys whereof *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes* had the rule, not being inferiour to any other Nations in that part of the world, either in men, in furniture, or largeneſſe of their territory, gave a great encouragement unto their wicked diſpoſitions in attempting of this matter; For they poſſeſſing the third part of *Aſia*, were able to make as great a number of men as *Darius* before had loſt. In confidence whereof, they not onely deſpiſed *Darius*, but *Alexander* himſelf, purpoſing when they were once become Lords of that Countrey, to re-enforce from thence again the power of the Empire, and maintain the wars againſt the Macedons.

When they had long deviſed and debated theſe things, they determined to take *Darius* by the Bactrian ſouldiers, of whom they had the rule, and then to ſend word to *Alexander* that they reſerved him alive to deliver him into his hands: And if ſo be that *Alexander* ſhould not accept it, which indeed they doubted, then their purpoſe was to kill *Darius*, and with their power to flie into *Bactria*. But for ſo much as they ſaw that *Darius* could not be taken openly, ſeeing there were ſo many thouſands ready to aid him, and fearing alſo the fidelity of the Greeks, they determined to work by ſlight the thing that they could not bring to paſſe by force. The plot was to counterfeit a repentance of their former doings, in excuſing unto the King the fear they were in, and in the mean ſeaſon they ſent certain to practiſe with the Perſians, and to prove their minds. The ſouldiers were toſſed too and fro with hope and fear, ſometime they thought that by leaving of their King they ſhould commit themſelves to manifeſt ruine and deſtruction; and again they remmembred what entertainment was promiſed them in *Bactria* that lay open for them, where they ſhould be received with ſuch gifts and riches, as they could not well imagine.

Whiles *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* were beating of these things in their heads, *Artabasus* came unto them declaring how *Darius* was well pacified, and that they might, if they would, be in the same estate and degree with him that they were before. Thereupon they fell to weeping and purging of themselves, requiring *Artabasus* that he would take upon him the defence of their cause, and carry their request and submission unto the King. The night was consumed in this kind of business. When it was day *Nabarzanes* with the Bactrian souldiers stood at the entry of the Kings lodging, colouring his privy treason with a solemn pretence of doing his duty. *Darius* caused warning to be given for his remove, and so mounted upon his chariot after his accustomed manner. *Nabarzanes* and the other Traitors fell upon the ground to worship him, and shed tears in token of repentance, notwithstanding that, they determined shortly after to put him in fetters: so apt is the nature of man to dissimulation. *Darius*, being of a simple and gentle nature, was inforced through their behaviour, not onely to beleeve what they pretended, but also it caused him to weep for joy: yet that could not cause the Traitors to alter their purpose, when they perceived what kind of man, and what manner of Prince they went about to deceive. *Darius* doubting nothing of his peril that was next at hand, made all the hast he could to escape *Alexander*, whom he onely doubted. *Patron* that was Captain of the Grecians, commanded his souldiers to put on their harness, which they carried before in trusses, and to be ready and attend to every thing that should be appointed them. For he understanding the treason that was contrived, followed the Kings chariot, seeking occasion to speak with him. And *Bessus* doubting the same thing, would not depart from the chariot, but followed rather as a watch then a waiter. *Patron* therefore having tarried long, and being interrupted oftentimes as he was about to speak, stood in a stay, betwixt fear, and fidelity, beholding the King in the face. When *Darius* perceived that he beheld him after that manner, he willed *Bubace* his Eunuch that rode next him, to inquire of *Patron* if he had any thing to say to him. *Patron* said yea: but his matter was such as he would no man should hear. Then he was willed to come near, and (without any interpretour) *Darius* understanding somewhat of the Greek tongue, *Patron* said unto him.

Sir, Of fifty thousand Greeks that served you, there is a small number of us remaining, which have continually followed you in all fortunes,

tunes, bearing unto you the ſame fidelity and affection that we did in your moſt flouriſhing eſtate. And we are determined whereſoever you be to take that for our countrey and home: both proſperity and adverſity hath ſo coupled us together. By which invincible fidelity that is in us, I deſire you and require you, that you would vouchſafe to lodge within our Camp, and ſuffer us to be the guard of your perſon. We have loſt *Greece*, we have no *Bactria* to go unto, all our hope is in you, and the Gods grant that all other men may do the like. It is not neceſsary I ſhould ſpeak any more, nor would I demand the cuſtody of your perſon, being an alien and a ſtranger, if I knew that others were as well minded towards you.

Although *Beſſus* were ignorant of the Greek tongue, yet his conſcience pricked him to beleeve that *Patron* had diſcloſed ſome thing and therefore carrying away ſome part of his words by a Greeke interpretour, became out of doubt, *Darius* nothing afraid, as it appeared by his countenance, inquired of *Patron* what moved him to give him ſuch advice? whereupon he thought not good to defer it any longer, but ſaid: *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes* work treaſon againſt you, ſo that your life and your eſtate ſtand in extream peril, and this day ſhall be the laſt either to the traitors or to you. Whoſe words if *Darius* had well weighed and regarded, *Patron* had received the glory of the preſervation of the Prince. But let them mock that liſt, who ſay that the ſtate of men is governed by chance: I do beleeve every man runneth his race by an immutable order, and by a concatenation everlaſting appointment unknown appointed long before: *Darius* anſwer was.

That although the fidelity of the Greek ſouldiers was ſufficiently known unto him, yet he was determined never to depart from his own nation by whom though he might be deceived, yet it was hard for him to miſtruſt them: whatſoever ſhould befall him, he ſaid, hee was minded rather to ſuffer it amongſt his own ſubjects, then to part away from them, not deſiring to live, if his own ſouldiers deſired not his ſafeguard.

Whereupon *Patron* deſpairing of the Kings welfare, returned them of whom he had the charge, ready to adventure any thing for his ſake. *Beſſus* in the mean ſeaſon had abſolutely determined to ſlay *Darius*, but fearing that he could not win *Alexanders* favor except he delivered his enemy into his hands alive, deferred his purpoſe to the night following.

In the mean ſeaſon he came to *Darius*, and gave him thanks that he had ſo warily and with ſuch wiſdome avoided the treaſon of that falſe Grecian, who being corrupted by *Alexander*, ſought nothing but how to make a preſent of his head: whereat (he ſaid) he could not marvel that a mercenary man ſhould leave any thing undone for money, being without any pledge of his honeſty, without houſe and home, baniſhed out of the world, a fair friend, and a doubtfull enemy, toſſed here and there at the beck of all men that would corrupt him. And then he fell to purging of himſelf, calling the Gods of his Countrey to witneſs his innocency in this matter.

Darius by his countenance ſeemed to beleeve him, yet he doubted not of the truth of what *Patron* had told him; but he was come to ſuch a point, that it was as dangerous for him not to beleeve his own men, as to be deceived. There were 30000 whoſe lightneſs was feared to have conſented to this conſpiracy, and *Patron* had but 4000 unto whom if he had committed his ſafety, and thereby condemned the fidelity of his own nation, he ſaw that then they might have had a goodly colour and pretence to perform their enterpriſe, and therefore choſe rather to be killed innocently, then to give any occaſion whereby he ſhould ſeem to have deſerved death. And yet when *Beſſus* purged himſelf, he anſwered, that hee knew that there was no leſſe juſtice in *Alexander* then manhood, and that they were deceived that looked for any rewards of treaſon at his hands, knowing there was none a greater puniſher or revenger of the breach of fidelity. When the night drew near, the Perſians after their accuſtomed manner, put off their armour, and repaired to the next villages, to provide things neceſſary. But the Bactrians as *Beſſus* had commanded them ſtood ſtill armed. In the mean ſeaſon *Darius* had ſent for *Artabaſus*, and ſhewed him what *Patron* had declared. Whereupon *Artabaſus* made no doubt, but that he would ſtraightways commit himſelf among the Greeks, thinking that the Perſians when the Kings peril ſhould be publiſhed abroad would join with the Grecians. Yet *Darius* predeſtinate to his chance, could not hear that ſaving councel, nor ſought for any help in that caſe, but imbraced *Artabaſus* as though he ſhould never ſee him more, and being wet with the tears that one of them let fal upon the other, he cauſed *Artabaſus* to be removed from him, and becauſe he would not ſee his ſorrow in departing from him, he covered his face, and fell flat upon the ground. Then ſuch as were accuſtomed to the guard of his perſon,

ſon, who ſhould have been his defence in all perils, fled away, thinking themſelves overweak for ſuch a number of armed men as they ſuppoſed to be comming, there was a great ſolitarineſs within *Darius* his lodging, for none remained about the King but a few Eunuches, that had no place to repair unto. Then he debated and deviſed with himſelf alone, ſometime one thing, and ſometime another, and by by he waxed weary of that ſolitarineſs, in which before he took a comfort, and called *Bubace* unto him, whom he beheld and ſaid;

Go provide for your ſelves, who according to your duties have been true to your Prince till the laſt hour. Here I do tarry for the fatall law of my deſtiny. Peradventure you do marvell that I do not end mine own life. I had rather die through other mens wickedneſs then by mine own.

After theſe words, *Bubace* filled both the Kings lodging, and alſo the whole Camp with mourning and lamentation, and divers brake into the place where *Darius* was, and tearing their cloathes bewailed his caſe with a great lamentation. When the cry came unto the Perſians, they were ſo amazed with fear, that they durſt neither put on their armor, leaſt they might give occaſion to the Bactrians to ſet upon them, nor could they remain quiet, leaſt they might ſo wickedly leave their King.

Then were clamors heard throughout the Camp of divers ſorts without any head, and without any appointment. Such as pertained to *Nabarzanes* & *Beſſus*, deceived by ſuch lamentation as they heard, brought tydings to the reſt, that the King had killed himſelf. Whereupon they repaired thither ſo faſt as they could gallop, & ſuch followed after as were choſen to be the miniſters of their miſchief. When they were entred into the Kings Pavilion, becauſe, the Eunuches declared that he was alive, they commanded him to be bound.

Thus he who before was carried in a Chariot, and honoured of his men like a God, was made a priſoner by his own ſervants, without any forraign power, and put into a vile Cart covered over with beaſt skins: and ſpoil was made of the Kings ſtuffe, in ſuch ſort as if it had been taken in the wars. When they had laden themſelves with the prey, got after ſo foul a manner, they conveyed themſelves into their countries But *Artabaſus* with thoſe of whom he had the charge, and with the Greek ſouldiers, took their way towards *Parthina*, thinking to be more ſure any where then in the fellowſhip of thoſe Traitors. The Perſians

ſians whom *Beſſus* had overcome with ſo many fair promiſes, ſpecially becauſe they had no other man to follow, joyned themſelves to the Bactrians, and the third day overtook them. But to the intent *Darius* ſhould not want ſuch honour as was due to his eſtate, *Beſſus* cauſed him to be bound with golden fetters, ſuch were the deſpites that his fortune made him ſubject unto; And for that he ſhould not be known by his apparel, they covered the Cart with foul hides of beaſts, and cauſed unknown men to drive it forwards, and leſt by enquiry in the Army he might be diſcovered, ſuch as had the charge of him followed afar off.

When *Alexander* heard that *Darius* was removed to *Ecbatana*, he left the way that he was in, and with all the ſpeed he could make, followed after *Darius*, who was ſaid to be gone into *Media*. But when *Alexander* was come to *Taba*, which is the chiefe City of *Paratacene*, it was there ſhewed him by fugitives that came out of *Darius* Camp, how he was fled with all ſpeed into *Bactria*, and afterward underſtood the matter more certainly by *Bagiſtines of Babylon*, who could not ſay directly that *Darius* was uſed as a priſoner, but ſaid, that either he was in danger of death, or of captivity. *Alexander* upon that intelligence called his Captains to gether, and ſhewed them that he had a great enterpriſe, but ſuch a one as the travel was very ſhort; *Darius* (he ſaid) was not far off, forſaken of his own men, and either taken as a priſoner, or elſe ſlain, in whoſe perſon he ſhewed the whole victory to conſiſt, and the greatneſs of the matter to be a reward ſufficient of their haſt making. They all cried with one voice, that they were ready to follow him whereſoever he ſhould go, and that he ſhould not ſpare their labour, nor their peril. Whereupon he conveyed his Army forwards with marvellous ſpeed, rather in poſt, then after the common order of marching, neither reſting day nor night, till they paſſed 500. furlongs, and came to the bridge where *Darius* was taken. There *Melun*, *Darius* Interpreter, who by reaſon of his ſickneſs could not follow the Army, was taken by *Alexanders* celerity, who feigning that he fled from his Maſter, declared the whole matter: but how great ſoever his deſire was to overtake his enemies, it was neceſſary for him to give his men reſt in their travel, ſo that determining to leave the reſt of his Army behind, he did chuſe out ſix thouſand horſemen, and added to them three hundred called Dimichas that were footmen, heavie harneſſed, but yet riding on horſeback, and

when the occaſion required, alighted and ſought on foot. When *Alexander* was taking order about theſe things, *Orſellus* and *Mithracenes* who for the hatred they bare to *Beſſus* for his treaſon, fled from him, declared to the King that the Perſians were but 500. furlongs off, and proffered to guide him by a nearer way. Their coming was grateſull to the King, for by their conduct in the beginning of the night, he took his journey with ſuch horſemen as he had appointed, willing his foot battel to follow after with all ſpeed poſſible. He marched forwards in a ſquare battel, and kept ſuch an order, that the firſt might joyn with the laſt, and ſuch as came behind relieved them that went before,

When they had paſſed three hundred furlongs on their way, *Broculus* the ſon of *Mazeus* that ſometime had been Governor of *Syria*, met *Alexander*, and declared that *Beſſus* was within two hundred furlongs, marching with his men out of all order, as one that did caſt no doubts; It ſeemed to him (he ſaid) that they went towards *Hircania*, wherefore if haſt were made they might ſoon be overtaken, and found diſperſed out of al array: And by reaſon he affirmed alſo that *Darius* was yet alive, *Alexander* that was hot before in the purſuit, was with his words much more quickened forwards, ſo that he cauſed them to put ſpurs to their horſes, and in a gallop followed ſo faſt, that they might hear the noiſe of their enemies as they marched: but the duſt that did riſe obſcured their ſight, and therefore he ſtayed a while till the duſt was vaniſhed away. Then both *Beſſus* perceived the Macedons, and they ſaw the Perſians as they fled; notwithſtanding they had not been able to have matched with them, if *Beſſus* had as great courage to fight, as he had to betray his Maſter: For beſides that they exceeded the Macedons in number and power, the Macedons ſore-wearied and over travelled, ſhould have had to do with them that were luſty and freſh, But the name of *Alexander*, and his fame, which was of great moment in the wars, put them in ſuch fear, that they could not ſtay themſelves.

Then *Beſſus*, and others that were partners in this conſpiracy, came to the Cart where *Darius* was, and perſwaded him to leap on horſe-back, and fly from his enemies that were at hand. But he crying out that the Gods were come to his revenge, and calling for the aſſiſtance of *Alexander*, ſaid, that in no wiſe he would go with Traytors: whereat they were ſo ſtirred to wrath, that they threw darts at him, and left

him wounded in many places of his body. They thruſt the beaſts into their bodies, that drew the Cart, to the intent they ſhould not be able to paſs forwards, and ſlew his two ſervants that did attend upon him. When they had committed this act, they thought it expedient to diſperſe themſelves in their flying, and ſo *Nabarzanes* took his way to *Hircania*, and *Beſſus* to *Bactria*, with a few horſemen that each of them had in their company.

When their ſouldiers were thus forſaken of their Captains, they were ſcattered here and there as their fear did lead them. There were onely 500. horſemen who aſſembled themſelves together, and ſtood in a doubt whether it were better to reſiſt or to fly. *Alexander* underſtanding the fear his enemies were in, ſent *Nicanor* before with part of his horſemen to keep them on work, and he with the reſt followed after. There were ſlain to the number of three thouſand of ſuch as ſtood on their defence, and the reſt were driven in flocks like beaſts, from killing of whom *Alexander* commanded his men to abſtain. Amongſt all the priſoners there was none that was able to ſhew the Cart that carried *Darius*, for every one was ſo deſirous to find him, that as they ſaw any Cart, they ſought him therein, and yet they could not perceive by any means what was become of him. *Alexander* made ſuch haſt, that ſcarcely three thouſand horſemen followed him of all his Cavalry; but great numbers of the Perſians fell into their laps that followed behind: It is ſcarcely to be beleeved, that there ſhould be more priſoners taken, then there were men to take them. But fortune in that fear had ſo taken away their ſenſe, that they could not conſider their own multitude, nor the ſmall number of their enemies. In the mean ſeaſon, the beaſts which drew *Darius* waggon, having no man to govern them, were ſwarved out of the highway, and wandring here and there, had drawn *Darius* four furlongs from the place where he was wounded, into a valley where they fainted by reaſon of their heat and their hurts. There was a ſpring at hand, which certain that knew the Countrey had ſhewed to *Poliſtratus* a Macedon, that was overcome with thirſt; and while he was drinking the water out of his helmet, he eſpied the beaſts that were thruſt in with darts, and marvelling that they were not rather carried away, then hurt after that manner, he looked, and found in the waggon the body of a man half alive, and at length perceived it was *Darius* that lay there ſore wounded, and drawing his laſt breath. Then *Poliſtratus* brought to him a Perſian, whom

whom he had taken priſoner, whom when *Darius* knew by his voice to be of his Countrey, he ſaid, That he took it for ſome comfort in his preſent fortune, that he ſhould ſpeak before he died to one that underſtood him, and not utter his laſt words in vain; He required him to declare unto *Alexander*,

That though he had never deſerved any thing at his hands, yet it was his chance to die greatly his debtor, and had thanks to give him, for the favour and goodneſſe that he had ſhewed towards his mother, his wife, and his children, to whom he had not onely granted life, but alſo the reverence due to their former eſtate and dignity, whereas he of his own kinſmen & friends, to whom he had given both life and lands, was now by them bereaved of all. He prayed therefore, that he might always be Conquerour, and that the Empire of the whole world might come into his hands, requiring that he would not neglect to take revenge of ſo foul an act, not only for his cauſe, but for an example and for the honor of other Princes, which ſhould be a thing worthy of him, and profitable to his ſucceſſours in time to come.

When he had ſpoke theſe words, he fainted, and calling for water, after he had drunk, ſaid to *Poliſtratus* that preſented it unto him: Whatſoever thou art, this is unto me the laſt miſery in all my adverſe chance, that I am not able to requite this benefit. But *Alexander* ſhall reward thee, and the Gods ſhall requite him for his great humanity and clemency ſhewed towards mine; unto whom thou ſhalt give my hand as a pledge of a Kings promiſe.

Having ſpoken theſe words, and given *Poliſtratus* his hand, he died. When his ſayings were reported to *Alexander*, he repaired where the dead corps lay, and with tears lamented that it was his chance to die a death ſo unworthy of ſo great a perſonage, and taking off his own Cloak to cover the dead body, he adorned the ſame with all things that pertained to a King, and ſent it to his mother *Syſigambis* to be buried in ſuch ſort as the Countrey manner was to bury Kings, and to be laid amongſt the reſt of his Predeceſſours.

Darius' Death.

The Sixth Book of

QUINTUS CURTIUS

OF

The Acts of *Alexander* The Great, King of *Macedon.*

A great part of the sixth Book is defective, wherein was contained the cause of the War betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons: with the preparation of both nations to the battel that was fought betwixt Antipater, Alexanders *Lievtenant in* Macedonia, *and the King of the Lacedemonians.*

HE preſſed forward where the fight was moſt dangerous, & ſeeing ſuch as made moſt reſiſtance, put the greater part of his enemies to flight. Then ſuch as were Conquerors before began to flie, till they had drawn their enemies greedily following them, out of the ſtreight into a more plain ground. In the retreat many of them were ſlain: but when they had once recovered ſuch a ground where they might ſtay and fall in order, the battels joyned equally on both ſides. Amongſt them all, the King of the Lacedemonians appeared moſt notable in all mens eyes, not ſo much by the beauty of his armour and goodly perſonage, as through the greatneſs of his courage, wherein onely he could not be overcome. He was aſſailed at on all parts, both near at hand, and a far off. Yet for all that he endured long in arms againſt his enemies avoiding their ſtrokes part with his target, and part with his body, till ſuch time as he was thruſt through both thighs with a ſpear, when by great effuſion of bloud, he was not able any longer to endure the fight: then the Eſquires of his body took him up upon his target, and carried him into their Camp, when with great pain he indured the ſtirring of his wounds. The Lacedemonians for all their Kings departure gave not over the fight, but as ſoon as they could recover any ground of advantage they rallied themſelves, and received ſtoutly

ſtoutly their enemies that came full upon them. There is not found in any memory, of a battel more vehemently fought then that, where the armies of two nations that were moſt excellent in the wars, contended together for the victory, not yet inclining to any part. The Lacedemonians called to mind their ancient manhood and proweſs, and the Macedons conſidered their preſent eſtimation they had in the world. The Lacedemonians ſtrived for their liberty, and the Macedons for the ſoveraignty: the one party lacked a Captain, and the other room to fight in. The manifold adventures and chances that fell that day, encreaſed both the hope and fear of both parties, fortune as it were of purpoſe bringing ſuch valiant men to fight together, neither of them prevailing upon other. But the ſtraightneſs of the place where they fought, did not ſuffer them to joyn with their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, and ſuch as ſtood without danger encouraged the others with their cry. At length the Lacedemonians began to faint, and ſcarcely able for ſweating to ſuſtain their armour, began to draw back to have the more liberty to flee from their enemies that preſſed ſore upon them.

When they were once broken and ſcattered abroad, the Conquerours purſued after; And paſſing the place whereupon the Lacedemonians battel was firſt arranged, made a ſore purſuit upon *Agis*: who ſeeing his men fleeing and his enemies approach at hand, willed his men to ſet him down: where ſtretching himſelf to feel if the force of his body could anſwer unto his heart, when he found himſelf unable to ſtand, remaining upon his knees put on his helmet, and covering his body with his Targer, ſhaked his ſpear, and provoked his enemies to draw near, if any were deſirous of his ſpoil: but there was not one that preſſed near him, but did caſt darts a far off, which he alwaies took, and threw at his enemies again, till ſuch time as he was thruſt into the bare breaſt with a ſpear. But when the ſame was pulled out of the wound, he fainted, and bowing himſelf upon his Targer, ſhortly after fell down dead, bloud and life failing both together. There were ſlain of the Lacedemonians 5340 and of the Macedonians not above three hundred, but there was ſcarcely any of them that eſcaped unwounded. This victory not onely brake the hearts of the Lacedemonians and of their confederates, but alſo of others who lay in wait, looking for the ſucceſs of that war.

Antipater was not ignorant how the countenances of ſuch as

did gratifie his victory, differed much from the intents of their hearts: but desirous to finish the wars that were begun, he perceived it necessary for him to dissemble and suffer himself to be deceived. And though he rejoyced much in the fortune of the battel, yet he feared the envy that might ensue thereof, it being a greater matter then the estate of a Lieutenant did bear. For *Alexander* was of such a nature, that he desired that his enemies had won the victory, shewing manifestly that he was not contented with *Antipaters* good success, thinking that whatsoever chanced to another man, was a derogation to his own glory. *Antipater* therefore who knew full well his stomack, durst not use the victory according to his own will, but assembled a councel of Greeks, to advise what they thought expedient. The Lacedemonians made no other request, but that they might send Embassadours to *Alexander*, who upon their address to him, and their sute made, obtained a generall pardon for all men, saving for such as were the authors of the rebellion. The Megapolitans whose City did abide the siege, were compelled to pay as a fine for their rebellion 20 talents to the Athenians, and the Ætolians. This was the end of the war, which being suddenly begun, was ended before that *Alexander* had overthrown *Darius* at *Arbella*. As soon as his mind was delivered of those present cares, as one that could bear better the wars then quietness, he gave himself up to pleasures, by the vices whereof he was overcome, whom no power of the Persians or any other was able to subdue. He was given to banqueting out of season, and to a fond delight of drinking, and watching in plays amongst flocks of Concubines, that drew him into strange manners and customes. Which he following, as things more pleasing then his countrey customes offended thereby greatly both the eyes and the hearts of his nation, and caused many that loved him before intirely, to hate him then as an enemy. For the Macedons that were obstinate in keeping their own discipline, and unaccustomed to be curious, being so penurious in their diet as might suffice nature onely, when they saw him go about to bring in amongst them the vices of those nations which they had subdued, conspiracies began to be made against him, mutinies arose amongst the souldiers, and every one complaining to another, freely uttered their griefs, whereby he was provoked to wrath, to suspicion and sudden fear, divers other inconveniencies insuing thereupon, which shall be declared hereafter.

Alexander being given as hath been said before to unreasonable banqueting

banquetting, wherein he conſumed both day and night, when he was ſatisfied with eating and drinking, he paſſed the reſt of the time in plays and paſtimes. And not contented with ſuch Muſitians as he brought out of *Greece*, cauſed the women that were captives to ſing before him ſuch ſongs as abhorred the ears of the Macedons, not accuſtomed to ſuch things. Amongſt thoſe women, *Alexander* eſpied one more ſad then the reſt, who with a certain ſhamefacedneſs did ſtrive with them that brought her forth; She was of excellent beauty, and through her ſhamefacedneſs her beauty was much augmented, And becauſe ſhe did caſt her eyes towards the earth, and covered her face ſo much as ſhe might, ſhe gave ſuſpicion for him to think that ſhe was deſcended of noble parentage. And therefore being demanded what ſhe was, ſhe ſhewed her ſelf to be the Neece of *Occhus* that lately reigned in *Perſia*, and the wife of *Hiſtaſpis*, who was *Darius* Kinſman, and had been his Lieutenant over many great Armies. There yet remained in the Kings heart ſome ſmall ſparks of his former vertue; for in reſpect of her eſtate, being deſcended of the bloud of Kings, and in reverence he bare to ſuch a name as the Neece of *Occhus*, he commanded her not onely to be ſet free, but alſo to be reſtored to her goods and her husband, whom he willed to be ſought out.

The next day he appointed *Epheſtion* to bring all the priſoners to the Court, where enquiring of the Nobility of every one, he commanded them who were deſcended of Noble bloud to be ſevered from the reſt; amongſt whom they found *Oxatres* brother to *Darius*, that was no leſſe noble of mind then of bloud. There were made of the laſt ſpoil twenty ſix thouſand Talents, whereof twelve thouſand were conſumed in rewards amongſt the men of war, and the ſum amounted to no leſſe value, that was conveyed away by them that had the keeping thereof. There was one *Oxidates*, a noble man of *Perſia*, that was impriſoned by *Darius*, and appointed to ſuffer death, whom *Alexander* delivered, and gave unto him the Seignorie of *Media*, and received *Darius* brother amongſt the number of his friends, reſerving to him all the accuſtomed honour of his Nobility. Then they came to the Countrey of *Parthenia*, being then but obſcure and unknown, but now the head of all thoſe Countreys which lie upon *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and be bounded with the red Sea. This Countrey being fruitfull and abundant in all things, was conquered by the Scythians, who poſſeſſing part of *Aſia* and *Europe*, are troubleſome neighbours to them

them both. The Scythians, who inhabit upon the *Boſpheron* ſea, are aſcribed to be in *Aſia*. And ſuch as be in *Europe* poſſeſs the countries, lying on the left part of *Thrace* ſo far as *Boriſthenes* and from thence right forth ſo far as the river *Thanais*, that parteth *Europe* and *Aſia*. It is certain that the Scithians of whom the Perſians be deſcended, came not from *Boſpheron* but out of *Europe*. There was a noble City in thoſe days called *Hecatonphilos*, builded by the Greeks, where *Alexander* remained with his army, conveying victuals thither from all parts. Amongſt the ſouldiers lying there in idleneſs there aroſe ſuddenly a rumor, entred into their heads without any certain author or beginning, which was, that *Alexander* ſatisfied with the acts he had done, purpoſed immediately to return into *Macedon*. This fame was not ſo ſoon blown abroad, but that they ran like mad men to their lodgings, and truſſed up their baggage and their ſtuffe, making ſuch preparation to depart, that every man judged warning had been given to remove, and that the thing had been done by appointment. The tumult that did riſe in the Camp by lading of carriage, and by the calling which one made unto another, came unto the Kings ears. This rumour obtained the ſooner credit, by the diſpatch of certain Greek ſouldiers, whom *Alexander* had diſmiſſed into their country, with the gift of 6000 Deniers to every horſeman: thereupon occaſion was given to think that the war had been at an end. *Alexander* whoſe purpoſe was to paſs into *India*, and the uttermoſt bounds of the Orient, was no leſſe diſpleaſed at this rumour then the caſe required. And therefore calling before him the Captains of his army, with the tears in his eyes, he made a great complaint unto them, that in the middle courſe of his glory he ſhould thus be pulled back, and compelled to return into his Country, rather as a man vanquiſhed then as a victorer, Which misfortune he ſaid, he could not impute to his ſouldiers, nor judge that their cowardlineſs did give an impediment to his proceedings, but that it was onely the envy of the Gods that put ſo ſudden a deſire of their countrey into the minds of valiant men, who within a while ſhould have returned with greater glory and fame. Thereupon they all promiſed to travell in reformation of the matter, offering themſelves in all things (were they never ſo difficult) to do as he would have them. And they promiſed alſo, the obedience of the ſouldiers, if ſo be that he would make ſome gentle and apt oration to pacifie them, who were never yet ſeen to depart from him in any deſperation or diſturbance of mind, if they once beheld the cheerfulneſs

fulneſs of his countenance, and the courage proceeding from his heart. He promiſed ſo to do, and required in the multitude an inclination to give ear unto him. When all things were prepared which were thought expedient for this purpoſe, he aſſembled all his army together, and made this oration unto them.

When ye conſider (my ſouldiers) the greatneſs of the acts which ye have done, and the manifold conqueſts that ye have made, it is no marvel at all that ye be inclined to quietnes, and fully ſatisfied with fame and glory. For not to ſpeak of the Illirians and Tribals, of *Boetia*, *Thracia*, and *Sparta*, of the Achaians, and Peloponetians, whom I have ſubdued, part in perſon, and the reſt by appointment: I will not make rehearſal of the war we began at *Helleſpont*, and how we deliverd from ſervitude the barbarous nations, the *Ionians*, and *Aeolides*, & got unto our poſſeſſion *Caria*, *Lidia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Pamphilia*, *Piſidia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phenicia*, *Armenia*, *Perſia*, *Media*, and *Parthenia*. We have gotten more Countries, then others have taken Cities: and yet (I am ſure) the number of them have cauſed me to leave ſome of them unrehearſed. If I could think that the poſſeſſion of theſe lands that we have conquered in ſo ſhort time could remain ſure unto us, then (my ſouldiers) I would, though it were againſt your wils, break from you to viſit my houſe and my home to ſee my mother, my ſiſters, and my couhtry-men, to enjoy there the laud and glory that I have gotten with you, where the joyfull converſation of our wives, our children and Parents, our peace and quietneſs, and a ſure poſſeſſion of things gotten through our valiantneſs, do tarry for us, as large rewards of our victory. But if we will confeſs the truth, this new Empire which we have not yet at commandement, but is kept as it were by way of intreaty, doth require a time that this ſtiff-necked people may learn to bear our yoke, and by framing their diſpoſitions to more humanity, bring their cruel nature to a more civill converſation. Do we not ſee that the Corn in the field asketh a time for its ripening, and though the ſame be without ſence, yet hath it its courſe to be brought to perfection? do you beleeve that ſo many nations not agreeing with us in religion, in cuſtome, nor in one uſe of language, accuſtomed to the Empire and Name of another man, will be conquered and brought to ſubjection with the winning of one battel; No, truſt me, they are kept under with the fear of our power, and do do not obey us of their own good wills. And they which ſhew you obedience when

ye be here amongſt them, when you be abſent will be your enemies. You muſt think that ye have to do with wild beaſts, which being fierce of nature when they be firſt taken, muſt be ſhut up and tamed by time. Hitherto I have reaſoned with you, as though we had conquered the whole Dominion that pertained to *Darius*, which is nothing ſo. For *Nabarzanes* poſſeſſeth *Hircania*, and the traitor *Beſſus* not onely injoyeth *Bactria*, but alſo threatneth us, The Sogdians, Dahans, Maſſagetes, Sagans, and the Indians, remain yet in their own liberty and juriſdiction, who ſhall not ſee our backs ſo ſoon turned, but they will follow in our Rear. They all have a certain friendſhip and amity one with another, but we be all ſtrangers and forreiners unto them. There is no creature, but that will more gladly be obedient to rulers of his own nation, then to forreigners, be their own government never ſo terrible. We are driven therefore of neceſſity to purchaſe that we have not, or elſe to looſe that we have already gained. As Phyſitians that in ſick bodies will leave no humour that may hurt, ſo likewiſe we muſt cut away whatſoever ſhall be an impediment unto our Empire. Have you not ſeen great fires to ariſe from ſmal ſparks not regarded? we may not neglect any thing in our enemies, whom the more we deſpiſe, the more ſtrong we make them. And becauſe you ſhould not think it ſuch an impoſſibility for *Beſſus* to make himſelf King, where a King wanteth, you ſhall underſtand that *Darius* came not to his Empire by inhetitance, but got into the ſeat of *Cyrus* by the benefit of *Bagoas* his Eunuch. We commit an heynous offence (my ſouldiers) if we make war againſt *Darius*, and put him down, for the intent to give his Kingdome unto his ſervants: yea, and to ſuch a one as attempted ſo vile an act againſt his maſter, at ſuch a time as he had moſt need of help, and whom we being his enemies would have ſpared; He being his ſubject put him in chains as a captive, and finally ſlew him, becauſe he ſhould not be preſerved by us. Shall you ſuffer ſuch a man as this to reign? no let us make all the ſpeed we may to ſee him crucified, and to ſhew unto all Kings and Nations a juſtice done upon one, that ſo vilely falſified his faith. If the report ſhould com unto you in your own countries, that the ſame man was deſtroying of the Greek Cities about *Helleſpont*, how ſorry would you then be, and how much would you lament that *Beſſus* ſhould enjoy that which you have got, and uſurp the rewards of you victory? then would you make haſt to recover your own, then would you bend your ſelves to the wars. But how much

much better is it now to oppreſs him whiles he remaineth in ſuch fear, and is uncertain what way to take? ſhall we forbear to ſpend four days to come to him, that have marched over ſuch ſnows, that have paſſed ſo many rivers, that have climed ſo many Mountains, to whoſe journie the flowing ſea could be no impediment, nor the ſtreights of *Cilicia* could ſhut up our way? now all things are made plain and open, and we ſtand in the entry of our victory. There are but a few fugitives and killers of their maſter that do remain. What more notable work can you leave unto your poſterity, to be regiſtred by fame unto your glory, then to revenge ſuch as were traitors to *Darius*? you ſhall there by ſhew that when you were enemies unto him, yet your hatred ended with his death, and that no wicked man can eſcape your hands. Which thing if you bring to paſs, how much more obedient do you think the Perſians will be unto you, when they perceive you to take juſt wars in hand, and that it was not with *Beſſus* name whereat ye are offeaded, but with his ſins and treacheries.

His Oration was received of the ſouldiers with ſuch gladneſs, that they ſtraightways deſired him to lead them whither he would. And he that knew well enough how to make uſe of this opportunity immediately advanced into *Parthenia*, and came to the bounds of *Hircania*, leaving *Craterus* with thoſe Regiments whereof he had the rule, and ſix thouſand horſemen, of whom *Amintas* had the charge, with the like number of archers, to defend *Parthenia* from the incurſion of the barbarous nations. He appointed *Erigonus* with a ſmall power to attend upon his carriages: willing him to paſs with them through the plain Country, and he himſelf with his footmen, and with the reſt of his horſemen, marched forwards a hundred and fifty furlongs and encamped in a valley at the entry into *Hircania*. In the ſame place are great woods full of high and thick trees, and the bottome of the valley is very fruitfull, by reaſon of the ſprings that come forth of the rocks. Out of the foot of the Mountains there riſeth a river called *Zioberis*, which within three furlongs of the head, is divided by a rock, ſtanding in the middeſt of the ſtream, cauſing the water to go two ſundry ways, which afterwards comming into one channel, runneth more violently then before, by reaſon of the fall from the rocks. And ſuddenly it ſinketh into the ground, and ſo runneth hidden by the ſpace of three hundred furlongs, and then commeth forth again, as it were out of a new ſpring, being then in breadth 13 furlongs, and as it runneth forwards, groweth

more narrow, and falleth into another ſtream named *Rhydago*. The inhabitants of the country affirm that any thing caſt in where the ſtream ſinks into the ground, will appear and come out at the next mouth of the river. For the proving of which concluſion, *Alexander* cauſed two Bulls to be caſt in, where the water ſank down, whoſe bodies were found by ſuch as were appointed for the purpoſe, to appear where the ſtream brake out again. In this place hee refreſhed his army four days, during which time *Nabarzanes* (who was confederate with *Beſſus* in killing of the King) did write letters to him to this effect:

How that hee was no enemy to *Darius*, but counſelled him ever to do ſuch things as he judged moſt profitable: and for his faithfull counſel was put in danger of his life by him, who againſt all reaſon intended to commit the cuſtody of his perſon to ſtrangers condemning thereby the fidelity of his own nation, which they had kept unſpotted towards their Kings the ſpace of two hundred and thirty yeares: therefore ſeeing himſelf in that danger, he took counſel of the preſent neceſſity, and alledged that nothing was more dear to miſerable mortality then life, for the love whereof he was driven to this extremity, in committing an act which neceſſity rather compelled him to do, then his own diſpoſition. For in a general calamity every mans ſeeks after his own fortune. If he would command him to come to his preſence, he ſaid, he would not refuſe to do it: for he could not fear that ſo great a King would violate his promiſe, ſeeing one God is not uſed to deceive another. But if he ſhould ſeem unworthy to whom he would give his aſſurance, there were many Countries for him to flie unto. For all men having vertue in them, count always that for their countrey where they make their reſidence.

Alexander made no ſtay to give him his word, after ſuch ſort as the Perſians uſed to receive promiſe: which was, ſafely to come and go. Notwithſtanding he marched in order of battel, ſending ever ſcouts before to diſcover the Countrey. The light armed were appointed to the vaward: the Phalanx followed after, and the baggage behind. For by reaſon they were a warlike nation, and the country hard to enter upon: it cauſed the King to be circumſpect. The ſame valley ſtretcheth to the Caſpian ſea, the banks thereof reſembling the horns of the moon, before it commeth to the full, the ſea lying betwixt them like a great Bay. Upon the left hand the people inhabit that be called *Cercetes*, which

which lie open towards the North, and upon the other part the Leucosirians, Mossynes, and Chalibes, and the plains of the Amazons lie towards the West.

The sea which some call the *Caspian* sea, and some the *Hircanian* sea, being more sweet then any other, bringeth forth Serpents of a wonderfull bigness, and fishes differing in colour much from all the rest. There be divers of opinion that the lake of *Meotis* should run into this sea, which they conjecture by the water, thinking the same to receive its sweetness of the lake. Towards the North the sea groweth into a Beach, and shooteth forth his waters far upon the land, which rising high, make many mears and plashes. And as by a constant course of the Planets they flow out, so at a certain time by an ebbe, they return again, restoring the ground to its formet estate. Some beleeve these waters to be no parcel of the Caspian sea, but that they come out of *India*, and run into *Hircania*, which lieth low in the foresaid valley.

The King being removed from that place, marched forwards twenty furlongs in a wild desart, where great woods hung continually over their heads, and brooks of water, and the durt gave great impediment to their journey. But at length without any opposition of his enemies, he passed those difficulties and came unto a fair country, wherein besides other victuals (wherewith it did abound) there grew great plenty of Apples, and the ground was very apt for Vines. There were also plenty of a certain kind of trees much like unto Oakes, whose leaves were covered with honey, which the inhabitants gather before the Sunne rising; for else the moisture would be dried up with the heat.

When *Alexander* had passed thirty furlongs further, *Phratapher-nes* met him, yeelding both himself, and such others as fled away after *Darius* death, whom he received gently, and came to a town called *Arnas*. Thither came *Craterus* and *Erigonus*, bringing with them *Phradates*, that had the rule of the Tapurians, his friendly receiving and gentle entertainment was cause that many followed his example, in committing themselves to *Alexanders* mercy. *Menape* was there made Prince of *Hircania*, who being a banished man in the time of *Ochus*, came to King *Philip* for refuge: and *Phradates* also was restored to the office he had before.

When *Alexander* was come to the uttermoſt bounds of *Hircania*, *Artabaſus* whom as we declared did ſhew himſelf alwaies faithful to his Maſter, did meet him with *Darius* kinſmen and children, and with a ſmall band of Greek ſouldiers. The King at his comming proffered him his hand, becauſe he had been entertained before by King *Philip*, when he was baniſhed by *Ochus*, but the chief cauſe that he received him ſo well, was for the continual fidelity that he obſerved towards his Prince. He being thus gently entertained by *Alexander*, did ſay unto him: Sir, long may you flouriſh and reign in perpetual felicity. I that rejoyce in all other things, am grieved onely grieved at this, that by reaſon of mine old age, I ſhall not be able long to enjoy your goodneſſe. He was eighty five years of age, and brought with him nine ſons, born of one mother, whom hee preſented to the King, praying God to continue their lives ſo long as their ſervice might bee acceptable unto him.

Alexander was accuſtomed much to walk on foot, but then leſt the old man might be aſhamed to ride, himſelf going on foot, he called for horſes for them both. When he was encamped, he ſent for the Greeks that *Artabaſus* brought; but they made requeſt, that he would firſt give aſſurance to the Lacedemonians that were amongſt them, or elſe they would take adviſe amongſt themſelves what were beſt to do: The ſame were the Embaſſadours that the Lacedemonians had ſent to *Darius*, which after the battel joyned themſelves to the Greeks that were in pay with *Darius*. The King willed them to leave all aſſurances and compoſitions, and come to receive ſuch appointment as he would give them. They ſtood long in a doubt, varying in opinions, but at length they agreed ſo to do, ſaving *Democrates* of *Athens*, who had always oppoſed the ſucceſs of the Macedons, who deſpairing of pardon ſlew himſelf. But the other as they had determined, ſubmitted themſelves ro *Alexanders* will, being ten thouſand five hundred in number, beſides ninety of ſuch as were ſent Embaſſadours unto *Darius*. The greateſt part of the ſouldiers were diſtributed amongſt the bands to fill up the numbers that wanted, and the reſt were ſent home, except the Lacedemonians, whom he commonded to be put in priſon.

There was a Nation called Mardons, bounding next to *Hircania*, rude in their manners and uſages, accuſtomed to live by theft: They neither ſent Embaſſadours, nor gave any ſignification that they would

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be at *Alexanders* commandement: He took thereat great indignation, that any one people ſhould give impediment to his victory, and therefore leaving a guard for his carriages, he advanced againſt them with a ſtrong power. He marched forwards in the night, and by the time that the day appeared, his enemies were in ſight. But the matter came rather to an alarum then to any fight; for the enemies were ſoon driven from the hils, who flying away, left their villages to be ſacked by the Macedons. But the army could not paſs into the inward parts of the Countrey without great trouble and vexation, the ſame being compaſſed about with high mountains, great woods, and deſart rocks, and the parts which were plain, were defended with a ſtrange kind of fortification, that is to ſay, with trees ſet thick of purpoſe, the boughs whereof when they were young, were wreathed one within another, the tops bowed down were put into the ground again, from whence as out of another root, there ſprung new branches. They would not ſuffer the ſame to grow as nature brought them forth, but did knit them ſo one within another, that when they were full of leaves they covered the earth. The trees thus wreathed one within another, incloſed in the Countrey as it were with a continual hedge, and were as ſnares to entangle ſuch as would enter. There was no way could be deviſed to go through the ſame, but onely by cutting down the wood; and therein they found a great difficulty, and much travel, by reaſon that the wreathing and wrapping of the boughs kept them off from the bodies of the trees, and the weakneſs of the boughs ſo yeelded to the ſtrokes, that they could not eaſily be cut aſunder. The inhabitants of the Countrey were accuſtomed to creep amongſt the underwood like wild beaſts, and by privie ſallies break out upon their enemies.

Alexander therefore cauſed his men, after the manner of hunters, to ſeek out their lurking places, and killed many of them. But at length he environed the wood with his ſouldiers round about, to the intent they might break in at every place, where they ſhould find an entry. In doing whereof, many wandred and loſt their company in places that they knew not, and were taken priſoners, and amongſt them *Bucephalus*, *Alexanders* horſe, whom he did not eſteem as other men do other beaſts: for this horſe would not ſuffer any other man to back him: and when the King would ride, he would kneel down upon his knees to receive him, ſo that he ſeemed to have the ſence to underſtand whom he carried. *Alexander* was more ſorrowfull, and incenſed.

ſed for the loſs of this horſe, then was expedient for ſuch a cauſe: for ſearching about to get the horſe again, he cauſed Proclamation to be made by an Interpreter, that except he were reſtored, he would not leave one of the Countrey men alive. When they heard this terrible threatning, amongſt other gifts, they preſented unto *Alexander* his horſe. Yet he was not therewith pacified, but commanded the woods to be cut down, and the wayes to bee levelled which hee cut through the woods. This work went ſo well forward, that the inhabitants deſpairing of ability to defend their Countrey, yeelded themſelves to the King, who receiving their pledges, committed them to the keeping of *Phradates*, & from thence the fifth day he returned again to his Camp. There he gave to *Artabaſus* the double honour that *Darius* did unto him, and ſent him home again into his Countrey.

After that he came to the City of *Hircania*, where *Darius* chief ſeat was. *Nabarzanes*, upon aſſurance, came thither, bringing with him great gifts, and amongſt the reſt preſented unto *Alexander* an Eunuch called *Bagoas*, of ſingular beauty; being in the firſt flower of his youth, whom *Darius* uſed, and afterwards *Alexander*, at whoſe interceſſion eſpecially he did pardon *Nabarzanes*. The nation of the Amazons being near unto *Hircania* (as hath been ſaid before) did inhabite the plains of *Themyſcire*, about the river of *Thermodon*, and had a Queen raigning over them, called *Thaleſtris*, which kept under her dominion all the Countreys between mount *Caucaſus*, and the river of *Phaſis*; ſhe for the great affection ſhe had to ſee *Alexander*, travelled out of her own Countrey, and being come near where he was, ſent certain before, to declare that a Queen was come of deſire to viſit him, and to enjoy the private familiarity of his company. When liberty was given her to come to his preſence, ſhe cauſed all the reſt of her band to ſtay, and ſhe came forwards attended onely by three hundred women. As ſoon as ſhe perceived *Alexander*, ſhe leaped from her horſe, carrying two Javelins in her hand. The Amazons apparel is ſuch, that it doth not cover all their bodies, for their breaſts are bare on the left ſide, and their garments which they uſe to knit up with a knot, come not to their knees: One breaſt they alwayes reſerve untouched, wherewith they nouriſh their women children, but their right breaſts they uſe to ſear, to make them more apt to draw their bowes, and caſt their darts. *Thaleſtris* looked upon *Alexander* with a bold countenance, and obſerved in her beholding of him

him, that his perſonage anſwered not to the fame that ſhe had heard of his acts; for the barbarous nations gave great veneration to the Majeſty of the perſonage, thinking none to be ſufficient for the doing of great acts, but ſuch as nature had endued with great perſonages. It was demanded of her if ſhe had any requeſt to make unto *Alexander*. Whereat ſhe abaſhed not to confeſs, that ſhe was come thither to have children by him, thinking her ſelf a perſonage worthy of whom he ſhould get heirs to inherit his Kingdome, wherein ſhe covenanted, that if it were a woman ſhe would keep it ſtill, and if it were a man child ſhe would reſtore it to the father. *Alexander* enquired of her if ſhe would go forwards with him in his wars? but therein ſhe excuſed her ſelf, that ſhe had left no order for the defence of her Kingdome. But ſhe continued ſtill in declaration of the cauſe of her comming, & required, that her expectation therein might not be in vain. The womans appetite ſeemed to be more vehemently given to luſt then the Kings was, yet ſhe obtained of him to ſtay for that cauſe, and he conſumed thirteen days in ſatisfying her deſire

That done, ſhe departed to her own Kingdome, and *Alexander* marched into *Parthenia*, which was the place where he firſt ſhewed manifeſtly the vices that were in him. There he turned his continency and moderation, being the moſt excellent vertues appearing in any kind of eſtate, into pride and voluptuouſneſs, not eſteeming his Countrey cuſtomes, nor the wholeſome temper that was in the diſcipline of the Kings of *Macedon*; For he judged their civil uſage and manner to be over-baſe for his greatneſſe, but did counterfeit the height and pomp of the Kings of *Perſia*, repreſenting the greatneſs of the Gods: He was content to ſuffer men there to fall down flat upon the ground and worſhip him, and accuſtomed the Conquerours of ſo many Nations by little and little to ſervile offices, covetting to make them like unto his captives. He ware upon his head a Diadem of purple, interpaled with white, like as *Darius* was accuſtomed, and faſhioned his apparel after the manner of the Perſians, without ſcrupuloſitie of any token that it ſignified, for the Conqnerour to change his habite into the faſhion of him whom he had vanquiſhed. And though he boaſted that he did wear the ſpoils of his enemies, yet with thoſe ſpoils he put upon him their evil manners, and the inſolency of the mind, followed the pride of the apparel. Beſides, although he ſealed ſuch Letters as he ſent into *Europe* with his accuſtomed Seal, yet all the Letters he ſent abroad

into *Asia* were ſealed with *Darius* Ring: ſo it appeared, that one mind could not bear the greatneſſe that appertained to two. He apparelled alſo his friends, his Captains, and his horſemen in Perſian apparel, whereat though they grudged in their minds, yet they durſt not refuſe it for fear of his diſpleaſure. His Court was repleniſhed with Concubines; for he ſtill maintained three hundred and ſixty that belonged to *Darius*, and amongſt them were flocks of Eunuches, accuſtomed to perform the natural uſe of women.

The old ſouldiers of *Philip* naturally abhorring ſuch things, manifeſtly withſtood to be infected with ſuch voluptuouſneſs, and ſtrange cuſtomes; whereupon there roſe a general talk and opinion, throughout the Camp, that they had loſt more by the victory, then they had won by the war. For when they ſaw themſelves overcome with ſuch exceſs, and forreign cuſtomes ſo to prevail amongſt them, they judged it a ſlender reward of their long being abroad to return home in the habit of priſoners: They began to be aſhamed of their King, that was more like to ſuch as were ſubdued, then to them that were victorious, and that the King of *Macedon* was become the Prince of *Perſia*, and one of *Darius* Courtiers. When he underſtood that the chief of his friends, and his men of war were much offended at his doings, he went about to recover favour again with gifts and liberality; but the rewards of ſervitude are ungrateſull to free men: And therefore leſt it might turn into a ſedition, he thought good to break the imaginations increaſed by idleneſs, with the exerciſe of war, whereof an apt occaſion was given. *Beſſus* inveſting himſelf as a King, took upon him the name of *Artaxerxes*, drawing to his part the Schythians, and others that were the inhabitants of the River of *Thanais*, which things were reported to him by *Nabarzanes*, whom he had received into his favour, and given the rule of the Countrey he had before. When he had determined this new expedition, he found his Army ſo overcharged and laden with ſpoil, and other furniments of voluptuouſneſs, that they could ſcarcely move. Wherefore he commanded the baggage and and ſtuff of the whole Army to be brought together into one place, excepting onely ſuch things as were very neceſſary. The place was large and plain to which the Carts were brought laden, and when every one ſtood waiting and muſing what he would command them to do, he cauſed the beaſts to be removed firſt out of the way, and then ſet his own ſaddles on fire, and after, all the reſt. Whileſt theſe things

were

were burning, the owners were on fire themſelves to ſee thoſe things conſumed, for the ſaving of which, they had often quenched the flames in the Cities of their enemies. Yet no man durſt lament the price of his own bloud, ſeeing they ſaw the fire conſume the Kings riches as well as their own, and the rather to pacifie them, the King did mitigate their dolour with a brief oration. Whereupon they that were ever apt for the wars, and ready to do all things, began to be joyfull, that with the loſs of their baggage they had preſerved their diſcipline accuſtomed in the wars. As they were ſetting forward towards *Bactria*, *Nicanor* the ſon of *Parmenio* dyed ſuddenly, whom every man greatly lamented, but chiefly the King, who deſired to have ſtayed to celebrate his funeral, but that want of victuals cauſed him to haſt forward. *Philotas* therefore was left behind with two thouſand ſix hundred ſouldiers, to perform the ceremonies appertaining to his brothers funeral, and *Alexander* himſelf marched towards *Beſſus*. In the way, letters were brought to *Alexander* from the Princes thereabout, that *Beſſus* was comming towards him with a great Army, adding thereunto, that *Satribarzanes* whom he had made Prince of the Arrians, was newly rebelled; for that cauſe (notwithſtanding he was come near unto *Beſſus*) he thought it beſt firſt to oppreſs *Satribarzanes*: and for that intent he brought forwards his horſemen and footmen that were light armed, to invade him ſuddenly. His comming was not ſo privie, but *Satribarzanes* knew thereof, and fled into *Bactria* with two thouſand horſemen; for by reaſon he was not able to aſſemble any more in ſo ſhort a time, the reſt took the next mountains for their refuge.

There was a rock which towards the weſt was high and ſteep, but towards the eaſt more low and eaſie to be climbed, which part was full of trees; the ſame Rock being in compaſſe two and thirty furlongs had a Fountain running continually, and in the top a green plain, where they placed the weaker multitude, but the reſt that were apt for defence, being to the number of thirteen thouſand, got themſelves to the edges of the Rock, and there threw down ſtones and logs upon the Macedons that came to aſſail them. He left *Craterus* to beſiege the Rock, and went in perſon to purſue *Satribazanes*; and becauſe he underſtood that he was fled far off, he returned back again to the ſiege of them that were upon the Rock. Firſt he cauſed all things to be taken away, that might be any impediment to his men in the aſſault giving; But when they came to the bare and ſteep Rock, the labour ſeemed

loſt where nature wrought againſt them. But he that was of a diſpoſition alwayes to ſtrive againſt difficulties, conſidering how hard a matter it was to go forward, and how dangerous to return back, did caſt in his head all the wayes that could be imagined, and now fancied one thing, and then another, as men are wont when the wayes they have found out firſt do not pleaſe them. As he ſtood in a doubt what to do, Fortune did miniſter unto him a means, which neither wit nor reaſon could invent, It chanced that the wind blew vehemently at the ſouth-weſt, at what time the ſouldiers had felled great plenty of wood, whereof they thought to make Scaffolds to mount up againſt the Rock, and the heat of the Sun had made the ſame dry. When *Alexander* perceived the wind to blow ſo viblently, and the wood lying in that place, he immediately commanded more trees to bee cut down, and laid upon them, putting all other things to it that were apt to kindle and nouriſh fire, ſo that trees heaped upon trees, became as a mountain ſo high as the top of the Rock. The ſame being ſet on fire in all parts at once, the wind carried the flame into the faces of their enemies, and the ſmoak covered the skie. The noiſe was then great that the fire made, which burned not onely the trees that were fired of purpoſe, but alſo the reſt of the wood growing near thereabout.

The enemies were ſo tormented with the flame and heat of the fire, that they were enforced to forſake their place of ſtrength, and attempted to eſcape away where the fire did give them leaſt impediment. But where the fire gave place, the Macedons ſtood in a readineſs to receive them, ſo that they were conſumed and ſlain divers kind of ways; ſome threw themſelves down the Rocks, ſome ran into the middeſt of the fire, others fell into the hands of their enemies, and a few half conſumed with fire were taken priſoners. When *Alexander* had done this, he returned to *Craterus*, who beſieged *Artacnan*, and having prepared all things in readineſs, tarried onely for the Kings comming, to give him the honour of winning the City.

When *Alexander* was come, he approached the walls with the towers of timber that he had prepared for the aſſault, at the ſight whereof the inhabitants were ſo affraid, that they held up their hands from the walls, requiring him to ſpare them, and execute his wrath upon *Satribarzanes*, who was the Author of their Rebellion. *Alexander* pardoned them freely, and not onely raiſed the ſiege, but alſo reſtored to the inhabitants all things that pertained to them. As he removed from

this

this City, there came to him a new ſupply of ſouldiers. *Zoilus* brought out of *Greece* five hundred horſemen, and three thouſand *Antipater* ſent out of *Illiria*. There came a hundred and thirty Theſſalian horſemen with *Philip*, who alſo brought of forreigners out of *Licia*, two thouſand five hundred footmen, and three hundred horſemen. *Alexander* having thus increaſed his power, entred into the Country of the Dragans, who were a warlike nation under the government of *Nabarzanes*, who was of counſel with *Beſſus* in the treaſon that he committed againſt his Prince, When he heard of *Alexanders* comming, for fear of the puniſhment he had deſerved, he fled into *India*. Here had they lain incamped nine days, when *Alexander* being without fear of any enemy, and invincible againſt all forraign powers, was brought in perill by reaſon of his own people. It chanced that one *Dimnus* a man of mean behaviour and authority with his Prince, was greatly inflamed with the love of a young man called *Nichomachus*, with whom he uſed much familiar converſation. This *Dimnus* on a time being in a paſſion (as it well appeared by his countenance) allured this young man into a Temple, where remaining together, he declared that he had certain ſecrets to ſhew him, which in no wiſe were to be reported again. Thereby he brought *Nichomachus* into a great ſuſpicion what the matter ſhould be: for before he would tell him, he made a proteſtation by the love and familiarity betwixt them, that he would aſſure him by his oath to keep the thing ſecret, who ſuppoſing the matter to be of no ſuch weight, that he ought with perjury or breaking of his oath to diſcloſe the ſame again, did ſwear by the Gods there preſent. Then *Dimnus* opened unto him, how there was a treaſon conſpired againſt the King, which within three days ſhould be put in execution, to which (he ſaid) he himſelf was private, with divers men of nobility and eſtimation. When *Nichomachus* did hear it, and found it to be of ſuch moment, he conſtantly denied then that this promiſe extended to conceal treaſon, whereunto no oath nor religion could bind a man, which when *Dimnus* obſerved, he became on a rage betwixt love and fear, and claſped the young man by the hand, requiring with weeping eyes that he would not ſtick to be a partaker of this conſpiracy, or at the leaſt, if his heart would not ſerve him, that he would keep the counſel ſecret, in reſpect that he had found ſuch a manifeſtation of love in him, as to commit his life into his hands, without any further proof of his fidelity: But in concluſion, when he perceived

that *Nichomachus* would in no wiſe agree to his purpoſe, but manifeſtly abhorred the act, he uſed divers means to draw him to his intent, one while intreating him with fair words, and another while threatening to kill him. He called him coward and traytor to his friend, commending the gallantneſs of the enterpriſe, and put him in hope of great preferment, that he ſhould be partaker of the Kingdome which they went about to purchaſe. When he had proved all theſe ways, and yet he found him averſe, one while he thruſt his ſword to *Nichomachus* throat, and another while to his own, ſo that at length by threatning and fair ſpeaking he brought him to promiſe, both to keep his counſel ſecret, and alſo to be aſſiſtant to the deed. Yet nevertheleſs as one of a conſtant mind (though for the time preſent he ſeemed to be won with the love of his friend, and agreeable to his requeſts) he changed no part of his former purpoſe. This done, *Nichomachus* required to know what the men were, that had confederated themſelve in ſo weighty a matter, becauſe the perſons (he ſaid) were much material that ſhould take ſo great an enterprize in hand.

Then *Dimnus* though he were in great trouble of mind that he had brought the matter ſo far forth, yet when he heard him ask the queſtion, rejoyced, and thanked him greatly, that he would ſo freely aſſociate himſelf with ſuch manner of men, as *Demetrius* of the privy chamber, *Peculaus*, *Nicanor*, *Aphabetus*, *Locous*, *Diocenus*, *Archilopis* and *Amintas*. This communication once ended betwixt them *Nichomachus* departed, and diſcloſed all which he had heard before, to a brother of his called *Ceballinus*, agreeing betwixt them two, that *Nichomachus* ſhould remain ſtill ſecret in his Tent, leaſt by his comming to the Kings lodging, not uſing to have acceſs to the King, the conſpirators might perceive themſelves betrayed. *Ceballinus* repaired to the Kings lodging, tarrying before the gate, waiting for ſome man near about the King, to bring him to his preſence. It fortuned that among many which paſſed by, onely *Philotas* the ſon of *Parmenio*, demanded why he waited there? to whom *Ceballinus* with a baſhfull countenance (well declaring the unquietneſs of his mind) reported all which he had heard of his brother, requiring that he would declare the ſame immediately to the King. *Philotas* departed from him unto the King, with whom that day he had much communication on other things, and yet opened no part of that which was told him by *Ceballinus*. At night as *Philotas* came forth, *Ceballinus* met him at the Court gate, and required

quired whether he had dont his meſſage to the King or not. He excuſed the matter that he could find him at no leiſure. The next day *Ceballinus* met him again going to the King, and put him in remembrance of that he had told him before, to whom he anſwered that he remembred it well, yet for all that he diſcloſed no part of it all unto the King, *Ceballinus* began then to ſuſpect him, and intended no longer to defer the thing, but opened the ſame to *Metron* maſter of the Kings armory, who immediately conveyed *Ceballinus* into the armory, and repaired ſtreight to the King who was bathing, and informed him of all that he had heard. *Alexander* then made no delay, but ſent certain of his guard to take *Dimnus*, and after came himſelf into the armory. As ſoon as *Ceballinus* ſaw the King, he ran unto him with great rejoycing and ſaid: Lo I have preſerved thee from the hands of thine enemies. *Alexander* examined him of al the circumſtances, and he again anſwered to every point in order. The King was earneſt to know how long it was ſince *Nichomachus* had given him this information, and he confeſſed that it was three days. Whereupon the King conſidering that in truth hee could not have concealed it ſo long, commanded that he ſhould be put in ward. Then cried he out, and declared that at the ſame inſtant, when he knew of the conſpiracy firſt, he opened it to *Philotas*, of whom (he ſaid) he might enquire the truth. Thereupon it was demanded of him, whether he had required of *Philotas* to bring him to the Kings preſence or not. Which thing when the King by his confeſſion perceived to be true, and that he did ſtiffely maintain what he ſaid, he lifted up his hands to heaven, the tears falling from his eyes, greatly complaining that *Philotas* ſhould requite him with ſuch unfaithfulneſs, whom he moſt of all truſted. *Dimnus* in the mean ſeaſon knowing for what cauſe he was ſent for, wounded himſelf to death: but yet ſomewhat hindred by them that were ſent to take him, he was brought alive before the King, whom aſſoon as he beheld, he ſaid unto him, *Dimnus*, what have I offended thee, that thou ſhouldeſt think *Philotas* more worthy to be King of *Macedon* then I? At which words *Dimnus* became ſpeechleſſe, and caſting forth a great ſigh, turned his face from the Kings ſight, and fell down dead.

The King called *Philotas* before him, and ſaid: This man whom thou here ſeeſt, ſhould have ſuffered death, if it could have been proved that he had concealed two days the Treaſon intended againſt me, with which he hath charged thee, *Philotas*, to whom (as he ſaith) he gave knowledge

knowledge immediately thereof: the more near thou art about me, ſo much more greater is thy offence; and the fault had been more tollerable in him then in thee. Howbeit thou haſt a favourable Judge; for if there bee any thing that cannot bee excuſed, yet at the leaſt it may be pardoned.

To this *Philotas* nothing abaſhed (if the heart may be judged by the countenance) made anſwer, that *Ceballinus* indeed brought him a vain report, the reporter whereof was over light of credit to be beleeved, and that he feared leaſt by the preſenting of ſuch a mater which did riſe upon a brabie betwixt two perſons of evil diſpoſition, he might himſelf have been laught at to ſcorn; but afterwards when he once knew that *Dimnus* had ſlain himſelf, he was clearly then reſolved no longer to have concealed the thing. And ſo falling down before the King, beſought him that he would rather have reſpect to his life paſt, then to his fault, which was onely a concealment, and no act done. It is hard to ſay whether the King beleeved him, or grounded his diſpleaſure more deeply in his heart: nevertheleſs in token of pardon, he gave him his hand, ſaying how it appeared that the accuſation was rather miſcredited by him, then concealed of malice. Notwithſtanding he called his Councel together, amongſt whom *Philotas* was not admitted, but *Nichomachus* was brought in before them, where he declared all ſuch matters as he before had ſhewed unto the King. There was one *Craterus* at that time in eſpecial favour with *Alexander*, who for the envy he had to *Philotas* advancement, did bear him alwaies a grudge: he knew very well that the King had often been diſpleaſed with *Philotas* for the over-much advancing of his good ſervice, and valiant acts: but yet for all that he was not ſuſpected of Treaſon, but onely noted of preſumption and arrogancie. *Craterus* thought that he could not have a better occaſion to oppreſs his enemy, than by colouring his private hatred with a pretence of duty towards his Prince.

I would to God (quoth he) you had taken our Councel in the beginning of this buſineſs; for if you would needs have pardoned him, you ſhould have kept from his knowledge how much he was in your danger, rather then have brought him in fear of his life, whereby you ſhall make him more mindfull of his own perill, then of your goodneſs, For he may always imagine your death, but you ſhall not be always in a condition to pardon him. Let it never ſink into your heart, that he who purpoſed ſo hainous a treaſon, would change his purpoſe

for

for the indulgence of a pardon. You know well that ſuch as offend are often in deſpair of mercy, and though he perchance either with repentance of his fault, or remembrance of your goodneſs would change his mind, yet I am ſure, that his father *Parmenio*, Captain General of ſo great an army, and of ſo grounded authority amongſt your ſouldiers (and who is with them in manner as your ſelf) would be ill content to be in your debt for his ſons life. There be certain benefits hateſull to men, and it is a ſhame to confeſſe to have deſerved death. Therefore I conclude, that he had rather it ſhould be thought you had done him wrong, then that you had given him his life. I cannot ſee therefore, but you ſhall be enforced to deſtroy them for your own ſurety. There be enemies enough remaining, yet unconquered, againſt whom we be going; make your ſelf ſure from your foes at home, ſo ſhall ye have leſſe need to fear your enemies abroad.

Theſe were *Craterus* words, and the reſidue of the councel were of opinion, that *Philotas* would never have concealed this conſpiracy, except he had been either principal or privie thereunto: For they thought there was no true man, or honeſt heart, though he had been none of the Kings familiars, hearing ſo much as *Philotas* heard, but would forthwith have opened the conſpiracy. But he being the ſon of *Parmenio*, Maſter of the Kings horſe, and of his Privie Councel, did not ſo much as the ſtranger, who ſtraightway made relation of what his brother had told him. And whereas he pretended that the King was at no leiſure, they judged it to be done to the intent the accuſer ſhould not ſeek any other to whom he might divulge it, whereas *Nichomachus*, albeit, he was bound by his oath to the contrary, yet would he never reſt till he had diſcharged his conſcience: But *Philotas*, when he conſumed in a manner the whole day in ſport and paſtime with the King, could not find in his heart to caſt forth a few words, eſpecially in a matter ſo much concerning the Kings ſafeguard. But admit (quoth they) he had given no credit to the matter through the lightneſſe of the reporter, why ſhould he have deferred the accuſer two dayes as though he had beleevedit? For if he had miſſliked the report, he might have diſmiſſed the party. It was alſo alledged, that every mans mind much miſgiveth him, when the matter concerneth his own jeopardy, much more ought men to be credulous when it toucheth the ſafety of a Kings perſon in wch caſe it ought to be throughly examined though it be of ſmall moment. They all therefore determined that *Philotas* ſhould be enforced

eed to diſcloſe the partners of this Conſpiracy. The King commanding them to keep the matter ſecret, departed; and to the intent no inckling ſhould appear of this new Counſel, he cauſed it to be proclaimed that the army ſhould ſet forward the next day. The ſame night the King called *Philotas* to a banquet, with whom he vouchſafed not onely to eat, but alſo familiarly to diſcourſe, notwithſtanding he had before in the Councel determined his death. After the ſecond watch of the night, *Epheſtion*, *Craterus*, and *Erigonus*, who were of the Kings Councel, came privily into the Court without light, and of the Eſquires there came *Perdicas* and *Leonatus*, by whom commandement was given, that all ſuch as lay near the Kings lodging ſhould watch in arms.

By this time Souliers were appointed to all the paſſages, and horſemen were ſent to keep the wayes, that no man ſhould paſs privily to *Parmenio*, who then was Governour of *Media*, and had under him a great power. Then *Artaras* came into the Court with three hundred armed men, unto whom there were appointed ten of thoſe that had the charge of the Kings perſon, every one of them accompanied with ten Eſquires, who were ſorted into divers companies to take the other conſpirators. But *Artaras* with his three hundred was ſent to *Philotas* lodging, where with fifty of the moſt reſolute he brake up his chamber door that was ſhut againſt them; the reſidue were commanded to beſet the houſe, leſt he might eſcape by ſome ſecret way. *Philotas*, whether it were through the ſurety of his own conſcience, or through wearineſs of the travel of his mind, was in ſo profound a ſleep, that *Artaras* brake in upon him before he waked. But at length when he was rouzed and come to himſelf, perceiving they went about to bind him, he cried out, and ſaid: Oh *Alexander*, the malice of mine enemies have prevailed above thy mercy. Speaking theſe words, they covered his face, and brought him into the Court. The next day the King gave commandement that certain of the men of war ſhould aſſemble in arms, to the number of ſix thouſand; beſides theſe there were a rabble of the black Guard that filled the Court, who being aſſembled together, the armed men compaſſed in *Philotas* with their band, to the intent he ſhould not be eſpied of the people, until ſuch time as the King might ſpeak unto them; for by an old Law of the Macedons, Kings in their own perſons were wont to enquire in matters of treaſon, yet could not the Kings authority prevail to condemnation, except it were

were confirmed by the consent of the men of war. Therefore the body of *Dimnus* was first brought into the place, the most part knowing not what he had done, or by what chance he was slain. Then came the King forth to speak unto the multitude. who in his countenance declared the dolour of his heart, and the sadnesse of such as were neat about him caused unto the rest a great expectation of the event. He did cast his eyes down to the earth, and stood long astonished, and in a muse, but at length he plucked up his spirits, and spake unto them in this wise.

By the Treason of some assassinates I was almost taken from you: but through the mercy and providence of the Gods, I am yet preserved. Your honourable presence doth constrain me more vehemently to be moved against those Traytors, because the onely comfort and fruit of my life is, that I remain to give thanks unto so many Noble men, unto whom I am so much obliged.

With speaking of these words, the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his speech, and the teats did fall from their eys, then the King renued his discourse: How much more will you be moved, when I shall shew you the Authours of so horrible a Treason, which I yet refrain as one very loath to discover their names? But I must overcome the memory of my former favor, & utter the conspiracy of my unnatural subjects: for how is it possible for me to hide so great a Treason? *Parmenio*, a man of that age so deeply in my debt through the most ample benefits both of me and my father, and whom I most esteemed of all my friends, is the Captain and contriver of all this mischief. His minister *Philotas* hath procured *Peucolaus*, *Demetrius*, and this *Dimnus*, (whose body here you see) with other partners of their wickednes, to my destruction.

As he spake these words, there arose throughout the multitude a great murmure and complaint, such as useth to be amongst men of war when they are moved with affection or displeasure. With that *Nichomachus*, *Metron*, and *Ceballinus*, were brought forth, every one of them giving in evidence of what they had spoken before, yet appeared it not by any mans information, that *Philotas* was privy to the conspiracy. But at the least when the noise was ceased, and the witnesses had said what they could the King proceeded in this manner.

Of what mind think you was this man, who hearing the whole report. could find in his heart to conceal the treason, the truth whereof

is well declared by the death of *Dimnus*? *Ceballinus* that reported an uncertain tale, for the certain tryal thereof was affraid of no torments, and never delayed any moment of time, until he had diſcharged himſelf, in ſo much that he brake into the place where I was bathing: but *Philotas* onely feared nothing, beleeved nothing. O how great a heart had this man, who having knowledge of the danger of his King, did never change countenance, nor take ſo much pains, as to hear out the information of the accuſer? But in this ſilence and concealment there is treaſon hidden, and the greedie deſire he had to reign, did drive him headlong to attempt this wickedneſs. His Father is Governour of *Media*, and beareth ſuch a Command amongſt the Captains and men of war through my authority, that he hopeth after a great deal more then he hath. And becauſe I am without children he eſteemeth me not. But *Philotas* is deceived, I have children, friends and kinsfolk amongſt you. So long as you be in ſafety, I ſhall not reckon my ſelf without heirs.

Then did he recite a Letter that was intercepted, which *Parmenio* had written to his ſons, *Nicanor* and *Philotas*, wherein there appeared no great proof of any great Treaſon intended. The Letter was this: Firſt take good heed to your ſelves, and then to thoſe that belong to you, ſo ſhall we bring to paſſe that we have purpoſed. Which Letter the King enforced, ſaying: It was written after ſuch a manner, that if it came unto his ſons hands, it might be underſtood by them that knew the deſign; but if it were taken by the way, it ſhould deceive them that knew it not. Then proceeded he:

Now will *Philotas* perhaps ſay, that when *Dimnus* named all that were partakers of his Conſpiracy, he named not him. As for that, it is no proof of his Innocency, but a token of his power and authority, becauſe he was feared even of them that might bewray him who betraying themſelves, durſt not yet ſpeak of him, But what manner of man he hath been, his life doth ſhew. He was fellow and companion to *Amintas* my kinſman, who conſpired High Treaſon againſt my perſon in *Macedon*. He gave his ſiſter in marriage to *Attalus*, then whom I had never greater enemy. When by reaſon of old friendſhip and familiarity, I wrote unto him of the Title given to me by the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, he did not ſtick to anſwer, That he was very glad that I was admitted into the number of the Gods, howbeit very ſorry for thoſe that ſhould live under ſuch a one as would exceed

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the condition of man. These were plain tokens that his heart was turned from me, and that he despighted my glory. This I kept close in my heart so long as I might; For I thought my bowels pulled from me, if I should render them contemptible for whom I had done so much. But now it is not words that must be punished, for the rashnesse of their tongues is turned to swords, which (beleeve me) *Philotas* hath whetted to my destruction, whom if I should suffer to escape, alas my souldiers, whither should I go? To whom should I commit my person? He was the man that I made General of my Cavalry, of the greatest part of mine Army, and the chiefe of the most noble of the youth thereof. To his truth and fidelity have I committed my safegard, my hope, and victory. His Father did I prefer unto the same estate whereunto you have advanced me. *Media*, then which there is not a richer Countrey, with many thousands of your friends and companions I have put under his Governance and Authority. Where I trusted of most surety, there I have found most danger. How much more happy had I been to have died in battel, and to have been slain of mine enemies, then to be thus betrayed by my subjects? For now being saved from the dangers which I most feared, I have fallen into those which I ought to have least doubted. You have been wont oftentimes to warn me, that I should regard my safety, it is you that now may do that for me which you have counselled me unto. To your hands, and to your succour do I fly: I would not live though I might, against your wills; and though you would, yet can I not, except I be delivered from mine enemies.

Hereupon *Philotas* was brought forth in an old garment, his hands bound behind him. It well appeared how much this miserable sight moved them who late before envied him. The day before they saw him General of the Horse, they knew that he was at supper with the King, and suddenly they saw him both a prisoner bound like a Thief, and also condemned to die. It caused pity in their hearts to consider, how *Parmenio*, so noble a man, so great a Captain, who late having lost two sons, *Hector* and *Nicanor*, should be put to answer for the third, whom calamity had left alive. The multitude being thus inclined to pity, *Amintas*, one of the Kings Officers, with a bitter invective set them all against the Prisoner.

We be all (quoth he) betrayed to the barbarous nations, not one of us shall return home into his countrey, wife, or friends, but we shall be a maimed body without a head, without honour, without fame, and in a strange countrey shal be made a mocking stock to our enemies.

His words were nothing pleasing to the King, because he put the souldiers in remembrance of their wives and countrey, whereby he thought they would be the lesse willing to go forwards in his wars. There was one *Cenus* who though he had married the sister of *Philotas*, yet did he more extreamly inveigh against him then any other, calling him traytor to his King, his Countrey, and to the whole army. And thereupon took up a stone that by chance lay at his feet, to have cast at *Philotas*, which he did (as some thought) to the end he might rid him from further torments. But the King kept back his hand, and said that the prisoner should have liberty to speak for himself, & would not suffer him to be condemned otherwise. Then *Philotas* being admitted to speak, were it through the conscience of his offence, or through the greatnes of his peril, as a man astonied, and besides himself, durst neither look up nor speak, but burst out into tears. Whereupon his heart fainted, and he sowned down upon those that led him. But afterward when he had wiped his eyes, and by little and little recovered his heart and tongue, he prepared to speak for himself. Then the King beheld him in the face, and said: the Macedons shall be thy judges, I would know therefore whether thou wilt speak to them in thy country language, or not? to whom *Philotas* answered: there be divers nations here besides the Macedons, who I trust shall perceive my words the better, if I speak in the same tongue that you have done, to the intent that it may be better understood by the generallity of the people here present. Then said the King, mark how this man hath his native language in hatred. For there is none but he that will disdain to speak it: but let him say what he will, do you remember that he not onely disdaineth our customes, but also our language. And with that word the King departed from the assembly: then said *Philotas*.

It is easie for an innocent to find words to speak: but it is very hard for a man in misery to keep a temper in his discourse. Thus standing betwixt a clear conscience, and a most unhappy fortune, I know not which way I shall satisfie my self and the time both together. For

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he that might beſt have judged my cauſe is gone: what the cauſe is he would not hear me I cannot well imagine, ſince upon the matter heard, it lieth onely in his hands both to diſcharge me and condemn me. For the matter not heard, he cannot acquit me being abſent, ſince he condemned me when he was here preſent. Howſoever the defence of a priſoner is not onely ſuperfluous, but alſo hatefull, which ſeemeth not to inform, but to reprove his Judge: yet will I not forſake my ſelf, nor ſo demean me that I may ſeem condemned by mine own default. I ſee not of what treaſon I ſhould be guilty; Amongſt the conſpirators no man named me, *Nichomachus* ſaid nothing of me, *Ceballinus* could not tell more of me then he heard. And yet doth the King beleeve that I ſhould be the Head of this conſpiracy. Was it poſſible that *Dimnus* ſhould forget to name him that was the principal? or is it likely that he would have overſlipped me, when the names of the conſpirators were demanded of him, he would rather have named me falſly to allure the young man the ſooner to his opinion: yet when he told the matter privily to *Nichomachus*, whom he verily beleeved would have kept it ſecret, naming himſelf and all the reſt, of me onely he made no mention. It cannot be gathered that he omitted me, becauſe he would have ſpared me. I pray you (my fellows) if no man had come to me, nor given me knowledge of the matter, ſhould I this day have been put to anſwer, when no man could have accuſed me? but be it that *Dimnus* were alive and would ſpare me, what think ye by the other? would they detect themſelves and forbear me? adverſity is malicious and ſpitefull, An offender when he is puniſhed himſelf, uſeth not to keep ſilence to ſpare another man. Commonly he that goeth to Death will ſpare no man, nor will any ſpare him, that is ready to die, will not ſo many guilty perſons as are put to torments confeſs the truth? But now I muſt anſwer to the crime of which I ſtand accuſed, if indeed there can be found any crime at all? why did I conceal treaſon? why did I hear it with a ſmall regard? this fault, if it were a fault, thou haſt pardoned me (O *Alexander*) whereſoever thou art, by giving me thy hand, and bidding me to ſupper with thee. If thou didſt beleeve me, I am clear, if thou didſt forgive me I am acquitted, Stand at the leaſt to thy own judgement. Alas, what have I done, ſince this laſt night I went from your Table? what new report hath changed your mind? I was in a ſound ſleep, when my enemies by their binding waked mee, who was ſleeping in mine own misfortune. Offenders cannot ſleep through

through their unquiet conſcience, and are ſtung with ſecret torments, not onely when their miſchief is intended, but alſo when it is performed. But this quietneſs came unto me firſt through mine own innocency, and then by the Kings pardon. I feared not that others cruelty ſhould take more place then his mercy. But that it may not repent them to have believed me; you ſhall underſtand that this conſpiracy was firſt ſhewed me by a light fellow, who could not bring any witneſs or warrant of his words, which if I had diſcloſed it would have put many men to trouble. O unhappy that I am, I thought mine ears had been ſeduced with the falling out of two buggerers, and I ſuſpected the truth of the party, becauſe he did not utter the matter himſelf, but procured his brother to do it. I was in fear that the one ſhould have denied what ever the other affirmed, and withall ſhould have ſeemed to procure much trouble to many of the Kings friends. So that becauſe I would have offended none, I have found ſome more deſirous to procure my death then to ſave my life. What hatred ſuppoſe ye ſhould I have gotten if I had accuſed innocents: but *Dimnus* ſlew himſelf, could I therfore divine before that he would ſo do? no ſurely, this his death being that which only tried the accuſation true, could not move me to utter it, being prevented by another. And if I had been a conſpirator with *Dimnus* of ſo great a treaſon; is it likely that I would have diſſembled it by the ſpace of 2 days after it was diſcovered? as for *Ceballinus*, it had been an eaſie matter to have diſpatched him out of the way. After the thing diſcloſed, wherefore ſhould I have delayed the matter? I entred into the Kings chamber alone, having my weapons about me: why deferred I my purpoſe? durſt I not attempt it without *Dimnus*? But perchance ye will ſay, becauſe he was the chief conſpiratour. How then ſtandeth it together that I ſhould be his underling, who did covet to be King of *Macedon*? which of you all have I corrupted with bribes? what Captain, what Officer, have I made of more then other? It is laid to my charge that I abhor the ſpeaking of my country language, and that I diſdain the manners of the Macedons. What? do I deſpiſe the Kingdome that I covet? ye know well that our naturall tongue through our converſation with other nations, is gone out of uſe. As well thoſe that be Conquerours, as they that be ſubdued, muſt learn a new language. But ſurely theſe things make no more againſt me, then did the treaſon that *Amintas* the ſon of *Perdiccas* intended againſt the King; with him I had friendſhip. I will not die except ye will make it a thing unlawfull

to love the Kings brother. But it was our duty to honour a man called to that degree of fortune, I beseech you am I guilty because I could not guess before that he would offend? is the law such that the friends of offendors must suffer being innocents, if that be the reason why live I so long? if it be no reason, why am I condemned to die? But I am charged that I had pitty of them that should live under such a one as believed himself to be the son of *Iupiter*. O faith of friendship, and dangerous liberty of true counsel, it was you that deceived me, it was you that compelled me not to hide that I thought, I confess that I wrote so to the King, but not of the King. I did it not for spite but for my duties sake. I thought it more expedient for *Alexander* to have acknowledged the kindred of *Iupiter* with silence, then to have made a report thereof with ostentation. But because the truth of Gods Oracle is certain, let God be witness in my cause. Retain me in prison till ye may know *Iupiters* answer concerning this conspiracy, and in the mean season, he that hath vouchsafed our King to be his son, will suffer none of them that have conspired against his off-spring, to be unknown. If you suppose torments more then Oracles, I will not desire to be saved from them in triall of the truth. There is an old use that such as be put to answer upon life and death, are accustomed to bring their Parents and kinsmen before you. Two brothers of late have I lost, my father I neither can bring forth, nor dare I call for, because he is accused of this treason with me. Is it a small thing for him that is the father of many children, and having but one son left in whom to take pleasure, not onely to lose him, but also to loose his own life with him? therefore my most dear father, shalt thou die for me, and with me: It is I that do take thy life from thee: it is I that put a period to thy old days: why didst thou beget me unhappy wretch in hatred of the Gods, was it to receive such fruit from me as is prepared for thee? I am in doubt whether my youth be more unhappy or thine age. For I in the flower of my years am plucked away, and the executioner shall bereave thee of thy life, which if fortune would have suffered to continue, yet nature would have asked it ere it had been long. The remembrance of my father doth put me in mind how loath and timerous I ought to have been to the report of informations. For when my father was advertised that *Philip* the Physitian had prepared poison for *Alexander*, he wrote a letter to warn the King that he should not receive the medicine, which his Physitian had prepared. Was my father beleeved? was his letter of a-

ny authority? I my ſelf when I have reported ſuch things as I heard, how often have I been ſhaken off with a check for my light belief? ſo that when we tell things we are hated, and when we hold our peace we are ſuſpected: what would you have us to do?

Then one of the company that ſtood by, cried out, that none ought to be traitors to them who put them in truſt.

Thou ſayeſt well (quoth *Philotas*) whoſoever thou art. And therefore if I have committed treaſon, I require no reſpite of my pain. And here will I make an end of ſpeaking, becauſe my laſt words ſeem tedious unto your ears.

As he was ſpeaking theſe words, his Keepers led him away. There was amongſt the Captains one *Belon*, a hardy man, but one very rude and void of all civility, who being an old ſouldier was promoted from a low eſtate to the degree of Captain. This *Belon* preſuming upon a fooliſh audacity, (when all others had done) began to tell them, that when divers had taken up their lodgings in the Camp, how they were thruſt out by the ſervants of *Philotas*, who would take his quarters where other men were placed before: and how all the ſtreets were full of his Waggons, laden with gold and ſilver. He added further that *Philotas* would ſuffer none to lodge near unto him, but always appointed certain to wait whiles he ſlept, to the intent he ſhould not be diſquieted with any noiſe, not ſo much for wakening of him, as for diſturbing his reſt, and that he was ſo haughty that he diſpiſed the plain men of *Phrygia* and *Paphlagonia*, and being a Macedon born would not be aſhamed to hear men of his own nation by an interpretour: and whereas he had heretofore moved to have the Oracle of *Jupiter* enquired after, he ſaid it was meant thereby to make *Jupiter* a lier, for acknowledging *Alexander* to be his ſon, as if any man ſhould envy the King for that title which the Gods had given him. But why (ſaid he) did he not ask counſel at *Jupiter* before he did offend? For now he would have ſent to the Oracle, that in the mean ſeaſon his father who ruleth in *Media*, might raiſe a power, and with the money that he hath in cuſtody, aſſemble deſperate perſons to the fellowſhip of his miſchief. Nevertheleſs we ſhall (ſaid he) ſend to *Jupiter*, not to inquire of any thing touching the matter, but to give him thanks and to ſacrifice unto him, for the preſervation of ſo good a K. Then al the company was moved, and among them there began a cry, that the traytor ſhould be rent in pieces, which thing *Philotas* (who feared more grievous puniſhment)

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was content to hear. The King returning deferred the counsel till the next day, either to commit *Philotas* to prison to be there racked, or else in the mean season to get further knowledge of the treason. And albeit it drew towards night, yet commanded he his counsel to be called together.

Some of them thought it best that *Philotas* should be stoned to death after the Macedons laws. *Ephestion*, *Craterus*, and *Cenus*, determined to have him tried by torment, and then they who perswaded the contrary, turned also to their opinon. Therefore when the councell was broken up, *Ephestion*, with *Craterus*, and *Cenus*, arose to haste *Philotas* to the examination. The King called *Craterus* unto him, and commanding the rest to avoid, had secret communication with him in the innermost part of his lodging, the effect whereof came not to any mans knowledge. He tarried there till the night was far past, to heare the end of the determination. The executioners set forth all sorts of cruel torments in the sight of *Philotas*, who of his own mind said unto them.

Why defer you to kill such one as hath confessed himself the Kings enemy, and a traytor, what needeth more examination, it was my intent, it was my will.

Craterus mind was, that whatsoever was confessed before, should be confessed by *Philotas* again upon the rack. Whiles he was taken upon the rack, his body naked, his eyes bound, hee cried out upon the law of nature, and the Gods of the country. But all was in vain to their deaf ears. Finally as a condemned man he was torn with most extream torments by his enemies, for the Kings pleasure. And notwithstanding that both fire and scourges were ministred unto him, more to afflict him, then to examine him: yet he had power of himself both to refrain from speaking and groaning. But after that his body began to bee swoln with stripes, and that he could not abide the scourges, which pierced to the bare bones, hee promised if they would torment him no more, he would confesse whatsoever they should require of him. But first he would have them to swear by the life of *Alexander* that they should cease their torments, and set the rack aside. The which being obtained, he said to *Craterus*, tell me what ye will have me to confess; thereat *Craterus* was displeased, thinking by those words that he had mocked him, and caused his torments to be renued. Then *Philotas* besought him to have a time of respite whiles he might take his

his breath, and then he would utter all that ever he knew. In the mean ſeaſon, the chief of the men at arms, and eſpecially ſuch as were near to *Parmenio* in any degree of kindred, after that the fame was ſpread that *Philotas* was tormented, fearing the Macedons law (wherein it was ordained that the kinſfolk of ſuch as had committed treaſon againſt the King, ſhould be put to death with the traytors) ſome ſlew themſelves, ſome fled into wild mountains, & waſt wilderneſſes, & great dread and fear fell through all the hoſt, until ſuch time as the King having knowledge of it, made proclamation, that he would pardon the rigour of the law to the kinſfolk of the Traytors. But in concluſion *Philotas* made his confeſſion, but whether it were to deliver himſelf out of pain, by accuſing himſelf falſly, or not, it is to be doubted, ſeeing it is commonly ſeen, that both thoſe that truly confeſs, and falſly deny, come all to one end. You are not ignorant (quoth he) how familiar my father was with *Egilocus*, I mean the ſame that was ſlain in the field, he was the cauſe of our miſchief. For when the King took upon him the title of *Jupiters* ſon, he diſdained thereat. Shall we acknowledge him (quoth he) to be our King who taketh ſcorn that *Philip* was his father? we are all undone if we can ſuffer this this: He doth not onely deſpiſe men, but the Gods alſo, who will be reputed a God. We have loſt *Alexander*, we have loſt our King, he is fallen to preſumption neither tolerable to the Gods with whom he compareth, neither to men whom he deſpiſeth. Have we with out bloud made him a God who now deſpiſeth us? who diſdaineth to be in the number of men? Truſt me that we alſo if we be men, ſhall be adopted of the Gods. Who hath revenged the deaths of *Alexander* his grandfather, or of *Archelaus*, or *Perdiccas*? but this man hath forgiven them that ſlew his father. Theſe were the words that *Egilocus* ſpake about ſupper time, and on the morrow early my father ſent for me; He himſelf was heavie, and ſaw me alſo ſad, for we both had heard that which made us out of quiet. Therefore to prove whether he uttered theſe words through exceſſe of wine, or premeditation, we thought good to ſend for him, and ſeeking occaſion of the ſame communication, he of his own mind ſaid further: That if we durſt undertake the adventure, he would not ſhrink from us, or if our hearts ſerved not, he would keep our counſel. Yet ſo long as *Darius* was living, my father thought all the matter out of ſeaſon, becauſe the death of *Alexander* ſhould be to the advantage of our enemies, and not of our ſelves; but *Darius* once rid out of the way, then he that

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could destroy the King, should obtain the Empire of *Asia*, and all the Orient for his reward; Which counsel being approved, faith and troath was given: But concerning *Dimnus* I know nothing.

When he had confessed all this, I perceive (quoth he) that it doth not avail me that I am utterly guiltless of this Treason. Then they renued his torments, and did beat his face and his eyes with the truncheons of their spears, until they enforced him, not onely to betray himself, but also to shew the circumstance of the whole treason pretended. Because (quoth he) it seemed that the King would continue long among the Bactrians, I was affraid left my father that had so great a power in his hands, and the keeping of so much treasure (being fourscore years of age) should happen to die in the mean season, and then being disarmed of so great a strength, I should not get opportunity to slay the King, wherefore I hasted the matter whilest the prey was in hand. Thus discovered he the conspiracy, whereof if they beleved not his father to be author (he said) that for his tryal he not refused to be tormented again, though it were too grievous for him to endure. The Officers then whispering together, thought the examination sufficient, and returned therewithal unto the King, who on the morrow caused all the confession to be openly recited before *Philotas*, whom he caused to be led into the place, because he was not able to go, and there he confessed all the treason again. Then *Demetrius* was brought forth, who was counted the greatest actor in this conspiracy next to *Philotas*: But he with great protestation, and incredible stoutness both of heart and countenance, denied that he ever intended any evil against the King, and for his tryal desired to be tormented. Then *Philotas* casting his eys about, espied one *Calis* standing by, and made a sign to him to draw near, who being abashed, and refusing to come forwards, Wilt thou (quoth he) suffer *Demetrius* to lie, and me to be racked again? With those words *Calis* became speechless, and changed colour. Then the Macedons began to suspect that he would accuse innocents, because the same *Calis* was neither named by *Nicomachus*, nor by *Philotas* himself in his torments. But finally *Philotas* before the Kings Officers standing thereabout, confessed that the treason was conspired by himself and *Demetrius*; wherefore as many as were impeached by *Nicomachus*, upon a token given, were stoned to death according to the Macedons law. Thus was *Alexander* delivered from great peril, not onely of his safety, but also of his life: For *Parmenio* and *Philotas*

being of such power, if they had not openly been found culpable, could not have been condemned without the grudge of the army. So long therefore as *Philotas* denyed the thing, the matter seemed doubtfull, and many men thought him cruelly handled. But after he had confessed the circumstances, no man, not so much as the nearest friends took any pitie of him.

The Seventh Book of QUINTUS CURTIUS OF The Acts of *Alexander* The Great, King of *Macedon.*

AS the men of war thought *Philotas* justly put to death, his offence being fresh in memory, even so after he was gone whom they before hated, their envy was now turned into pity. The nobleness of the young man moved them much: so did the number of the old years and desolation of his father. He was the first that made the way open for *Alexander* into *Asia*, always partaker of his perils, the Captain of his vaward, and chief in counsel with the King his father, and so trusty to *Alexander* himself, that in oppressing of *Attalus* his enemy, he would use no other mans service. The remembrance of these things was fresh among all the souldiers, and seditious words came to the Kings ears, who being moved therewith, did wisely with travel avoid the evill occasions comming of idleness: where fore he caused it to be proclaimed, that all men should be in a readiness before the Court gate, where they being once assembled, he came forth to speak unto them. And as it was before contrived, he required the band

band of the Agrians to bring forth one *Alexander Lyncestes*, who, long before *Philotas*, had conspired the Kings death. This man being accused by two witnesses (as before said) had remained in prison three years together. Against whom it was proved that he was of counsel with *Pausanias* in the killing of King *Philip*. But because he saluted first *Alexander* by the name of King, his punishment was deferred, rather then his offence forgiven. For at the intercession of *Antipater* his father in law, the King had respited his just indignation for that time. But the old festered sore brake out again, and the consideration of his present danger, renued the remembrance of his danger passed. Therefore when he was brought forth of prison, and commanded to speak for himself, albeit he had three years leisure to study his answer, yet stammering and trembling he could bring out but little of that which he purposed to say, and finally both his heart and his memory failed him, wherefore there was none that doubted but that his fearfulness was a token of his guilty conscience, and no default of memory, so that whilest he was stammering and hacking in his words, they that stood next him thrust him through with their pikes: whose body being conveied out of the place, the King commanded *Amintas* and *Simmias* to be be brought forth, for *Palemon* their youngest brother, after he had knowledge of *Philotas* torment fled away.

Of all *Philotas* friends, these two were most dear to him, and though his commendation advanced to high and honourable offices. The King remembring with what earnestness and labour *Philotas* had brought them into his favour, doubted not but they were privy to this last conspiracie. Whereupon he declared unto the multitude, that he had occasion of suspicion against those men long ago by his mothers Letters, whereby he had warning to beware of them, and that now fearing the sequel of worse inconveniences, he had made them sure, inforced thereunto by apparent presumptions. First, he said, on the day before *Philotas* treason came to light, it was well known that they had much conference with him in secret: and also their brother who fled away when *Philotas* was upon the Rack, had declared by the absenting of himself, the cause of his flying. He shewed also that, of late, contrary to their accustomed manner of waiting, without any cause moving them thereunto, but onely by pretence of diligence, they pressed next about the King of all others, whereat marvelling that they would supply a place whereunto they were not appointed, he became

so

ſo in doubt of their cluſtering together that he returned into the train of the Gentlemen that followed him. He declared beſides, that when *Antiphanes* Clerk of the Stable, the day before *Philotas* treaſon came to light, according to his cuſtome, gave order to *Amintas* that he ſhould deliver horſes to ſuch as had loſt their own, he proudly anſwered again, that except he would content himſelf, he ſhould ſhortly know who he was: Which violence of tongue and raſhneſs of words (ſaid he) was nothing elſe but a declaration and token of his trayterous heart. He alledged that theſe things being true, they had no leſs deſerved then *Philotas*, and if they were otherwiſe, he deſired they might anſwer unto the particulars. Thereupon *Antiphanes* was brought in to give evidence of the horſe not delivered, and of his proud anſwer with threatnings.

When *Amintas* had gotten liberty to ſpeak, he deſired of the King that whileſt they anſwered for themſelvs, their hands might be unloſed: which thing obtained, he made ſuit to have his Garment to be caſt upon him. Which *Alexander* not onely granted, but willed a weapon to be delivered into his hands, as other ſquires uſed. When he had received the ſame, he eſchued a little the place where the corps of *Lincestes* lay, and ſpake in this manner.

Whatſoever ſhall become of us (O King) we muſt think if our fortune be good, the ſame to proceed of your favour, and if it be evill, we muſt impute it to our ſtarres, ſeeing you ſuffer us to plead our cauſe without prejudice, ſetting our minds free, and our bodies at large, with the ſame apparel cloathing us, with which we were accuſtomed to follow you. Our cauſe is ſuch that we cannot doubt of it, and we are paſſed the fear of fortune. Therefore with your favour I will anſwer firſt to thoſe particulars which you charged us laſt. We know moſt aſſuredly that we be innocent of all words ſpoken in the derogation of your Majeſty, and I dare affirm that you had overcome all envy of men but that peradventure you would think that I went about with fair words to excuſe things that have been maliciouſly ſpoken; Though it were ſo that ſome unadviſed words might eſcape us ſometimes, either when we were faint or wearied in marching, hazarding our ſelves in fighting, or elſe when we were ſick, or dreſſing our wounds: our honeſt doings otherwiſe do deſerve, that ye ſhould rather impute the ſame unto the time, then any evill diſpoſition in us; for it is commonly ſeen where any thing chanceth amiſſe, all men in a manner become guilty of the

the fault. We do violence ſometimes to our own bodies, which we hate not. Yea, the comming of the fathers unto the children ſometime is both ungratefull and hatefull. But on the other ſide, when we receive rewards or gifts, or when we come laden home with ſpoil, who can then ſtay us? who can reſtrain our chearfulneſs? or who can reſiſt our courage in fighting? the nature of man is neither to keep meaſure in grief or gladneſs. Thus are we driven by the violence of affection, ſometimes with pitty, and ſometimes with fury, as our preſent deſire doth govern us. One while we are in mind to paſs through *India*, as far as the Ocean ſea, and by and by the memory of our wives, and children, and countrey calleth us back, and doth alter our purpoſe. But as ſoon as the Trumpet ſoundeth, ſtraight all theſe imaginations do paſſe away, and every man then runneth in his array, revenging upon their enemies the diſpleaſures conceived within their own Tents, I would *Philotas* had offended but onely in words. I would paſſe over that and return to the other point whereof we be accuſed. The friendſhip that was betwixt *Philotas* and us, I will not onely deny, but alſo confeſs that we did covet the ſame, and received thereby great commodities. Do you marvel that we did honour and eſteem the ſon of *Parmenio*, whom you did chooſe to be next about your perſon, and did advance above all other your friends: you your ſelf (if you pleaſe to hear the truth) are the cauſe of this our peril. What other thing moved us to covet *Philotas* friendſhip, then that we deſired to pleaſe you. By his preferment we were advanced unto your favour. He ſtood in ſuch height with you that it behoved us to ſue for his benevolence, as to fear his diſpleaſure. Have not we ſworn that we would repute your enemies our enemies? and honour your friends as our own? ſhould we have been found diſobedient in this bond of our duty? and eſpecially towards him, whom ye did prefer above all men? if this be a fault, ye have few innocents, or ſurely none at all. All men deſired to be *Philotas* friends, but all that did covet it could not be accepted. So if ye will make no difference between the partners of his treaſon and ſuch as were his friends, then ſo many are offendors as would have been his friends. What preſumption have you now that we ſhould offend? I think, becauſe yeſterday *Philotas* talked with us familiarly alone. Thereof I cannot excuſe my ſelf, if yeſterday I changed any thing of mine accuſtomed manner and living; but if ſo be we uſed every day to do the like, then cuſtome muſt needs make it to be no offence. But it may be ſaid the horſes were not

delivered to *Antiphanes*: and the day before *Philotas* was detected, this difference was betwixt *Antiphanes* and me. If that be a juſt cauſe of ſuſpection that I would not then deliver my horſes, there ſhall ariſe a doubtfull plea between the denier and the demander, ſaving that his cauſe is better that keepeth ſtill his own, then his that requireth another mans. I had ten horſes, of the which *Antiphanes* had diſtributed eight, to ſuch as had loſt their own, ſo there onely remained two, which when he would proudly and wrongfully have taken away, I was inforced to keep them ſtill, except I would have ſerved on foot. I cannot deny but that this communication was had between a man of a free ſtomack, and a perſon of a vile nature, who could do no manner of ſervice but take away mens horſes and give them to others. What miſchief is this, that at one time I muſt purge my ſelf both to the King and to *Antiphanes*. But to the other point that your mother did write to you of us, as of your enemies; I would to God ſhe had more wiſely been carefull of her ſons ſafeguard, then doubtfully imagined ſuch inventions. Why doth ſhe not alſo expreſs the cauſe of her fear? beſides ſhe ſheweth not her author, nor yet ſignifieth one word whereby ſhe was moved to write to you ſuch letters of fear. O wretched eſtate of mine which ſtandeth in no leſs hazard to hold my peace then to ſpeak. Yet howſoever the event ſhall be, I had rather my excuſe ſhould diſpleaſe you, then my cauſe. If you remember when you ſent me to fetch new ſouldiers out of *Macedon*, even, when you ſhewed me that in your mothers houſe there lurked many luſty young Gentlemen: you commanded me that in executing your commiſſion I ſhould ſpare none, but bring with me perforce all ſuch as refuſed the wars: which thing I did, and fulfilled your will therein more largely then was expedient for me. For I brought unto you *Gorgeus*, *Hecateus*, and *Gorgata*, who now miniſter unto you, and do very acceptable ſervice. What creature therefore is more wretched then I, who if I had not fulfilled your will, ſhould rightfully have ſuffered, and now I periſh, becauſe I obeyed you? For truly there was no cauſe that moved your mother to perſecute us, then that we preferred your command before a womans favour. I brought unto you of Macedons ſix thouſand, and eight hundred horſemen, of the which the greateſt part would not have followed me. It is reaſon therefore that in as much as your mother is diſpleaſed with us for your cauſe, that ye mitigate her in whoſe diſpleaſure you have put us.

Whiles

Whiles *Amintas* was thus pleading his cauſe, they that had purſued his brother *Palemon* (of whom we ſpake) came leading him bound into the place. Then the rage of the people could ſcarcely be pacified, but as the manner was in ſuch caſes, they would have ſtoned *Palemon* to death. Yet he boldly ſpake to them and ſaid:

I deſire no favour for my ſelf, ſo that my fleeing be not hurtfull to the innocency of my brethren, whom if you cannot think clear, let the fault be laid to me. For their cauſe appeared the better, becauſe I which fled away am ſuſpected.

As ſoon as he had ſpoken theſe words, the whole aſſembly were enclined to his favour, and diſſolved to tears, being ſo ſuddenly and ſo contrary turned, that now they were all on his part, who a little before were againſt him: He was in the prime flower of his youth, and through other mens fear fled away amongſt thoſe horſemen, who were amazed at *Philotas* torments. His company had left him behind, and whiles he was in doubt whether he might turn again, or fly further forwards, he was taken by them which purſued after him. He then began to weep, and beat himſelf about the face, not ſo much lamenting his own chance as the condition of his brethren being in danger for his cauſe, wich which behaviour of his he moved the King and all the company there preſent. Onely his brother *Amintas* could not be pacified, but beheld him with a fierce countenance, and ſaid:

O mad creature! Then oughteſt thou to have wept when thou didſt put thy ſpurs to thy horſe as a traytor to thy brethren, and a companion to traytors. Thou wretch, whither and from whence didſt thou flee? Thou haſt now brought to paſs that both I am thought worthy of death and alſo muſt become an accuſer of others.

Palemon thereupon confeſſed himſelf to have offended in that point but more grievouſly againſt his brethren, then towards himſelf. Then the multitude could not abſtain from weeping and ſhouting, being tokens whereby men in aſſembly are wont to declare their affections, and with one conſent they cried all to the King, that he ſhould ſpare innocents, and men of ſervice: His friends upon that occaſion did riſe, and with weeping eyes required mercy of the King. Then he commanded ſilence, and ſaid.

By mine own judgement I do pardon both you *Amintas* and your brethren, deſirous that ye ſhould be more mindfull of my benefit, then of your own jeopardy. Come in favour again with me, with that fide-

lity by which I am reconciled unto you. Except theſe things which were brought in evidence had been tried to the uttermoſt, my diſſimulation might have been ſuſpected in this matter. Better it is therefore to be cleared then to remain in jealouſie, and think that no man can be acquited, except he be firſt detected. Thou *Amintas*, pardon thy brother, and let that be a token of thy heart reconciled unto me.

This done, the King diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and ſent for *Polidamus*, whom of all men *Parmenio* loved beſt, accuſtomed alwayes to ſtand next him in battel. And though the clearneſs of his conſcience did aſſure him to come boldly, yet after he was commanded to bring forth his brethren being but young, and unknown to the King, his confidence was turned into fear, and he began to doubt, imagining in his mind rather ſuch things as might hurt him, then by what means he was thus circumvented. In the mean ſeaſon the guard which had commandement thereunto, brought forth his brethren. When the King ſaw *Polidamus* pale for fear, he called him near unto him, and comanding all men apart, he ſaid unto him;

Through *Parmenio* his treaſon, we were all in danger, but chiefly I and thou, whom under colour of friendſhip he deceived moſt. In the purſuing and puniſhment of whom, ſee how much I truſt thy fidelity, for I am determined to uſe thee as a miniſter therein, and whileſt thou goeſt about it, thy brethren ſhall be thy pledges. Thou ſhalt go into *Media* and bear my letters to my Officers, written with mine own hand. It is neceſſary, haſt be made, that the ſwiftneſs of the fame be prevented, I will, that ye come thither in the night and that the tenor of my writing be executed the day after. Ye ſhall carry letters likewiſe unto *Parmenio*, one from me, and another written in the name of *Philotas*, I have his ſignet in my cuſtody. So that when *Parmenio* ſhall ſee both you, and the letter ſealed with his ſons Ring, he will be without any ſuſpition.

Polidamus being thus delivered of fear, promiſed his diligence a great deal more earneſtly then was required. When *Alexander* ſaw his promptneſs in the matter, he both commended his good will, and rewarded him accordingly. And *Polidamus* changed his own apparel, and took other, after the faſhion of the Arabians with two of the ſame country to be his guides, for whoſe truth their wives and children were pledges in the mean ſeaſon. And ſo they paſſed on Camels through ſuch places as were deſart for lack of moiſture, and within eleven days came

came unto their journies end, before any knew of their comming. *Polidamus* then took again his Macedons apparel, and in the dead time of the night came unto *Cleanders* lodging, who had the chief authority there next unto *Parmenio*. When *Cleander* by his letters underſtood the Kings pleaſure, *Polidamus* having more letters to deliver likewiſe to others, agreed by the break of the day to go all together to *Parmenio*.

As they were going, tidings came to *Parmenio* of *Polidamus* arrivall, who rejoycing both for the comming of his friend, and for the deſire he had to know of the Kings eſtate (the rather becauſe he had received no letter from him a long ſpace) commanded *Polidamus* to come to him. The houſes of that country have large back ſides and pleaſant Orchards full of trees, being the chief delight of the Princes and great Lords there. The Captains which had received commandement by the Kings letters to kill him, came to *Parmenio* walking under the ſhadow of the trees, being agreed among themſelves to execute the ſlaughter, when he ſhould begin to read his letters.

So ſoon as *Parmenio* had eſpied *Polidamus* comming a far off, with a ſemblance of joy (as appeared by his countenance) he ran to imbrace him, and after ſalutation given to each other, he delivered the Kings letter. As he was unclosing it, he demanded of *Polidamus* what the King intended to do? You ſhal know that ſaid he by the contents of our letters. Which when he had read, I perceive (quoth *Parmenio*) that the King purpoſeth a voyage againſt the Arachoſians: ſurely he is a painfull Prince, and never in reſt. But now after ſo much glory won, it were time for him to take his eaſe, and have conſideration of his health and ſafeguard. And then he read the other letter written in the name of *Philotas* whereat he was joyfull, as appeared by his countenance. With that *Cleander* ſtabbed him with his ſword in his ſide, and after ſtriking him over the throat, the reſidue thruſt him in, as he lay a dying.

But *Parmenio's* men who ſtood near at hand, and ſaw the murther whereof they knew not the cauſe ran into the Camp, and with their troublous tidings ſet all the ſouldiers in a roar. They ran ſtreight to arms and cluſtring together about the place where the murther was done, they made an exclamation that except *Polidamus* and the other actors in that deed were delivered to their hands, they would overthrow the wall and make ſacrifice to their dead Captain with the

bloud of the offenders. *Cleander* willed the chief of them to be let in, & recited the Kings Letters, wherein was contained the treaſon of *Parmenio* intended againſt him, with a requeſt to them to ſee it revenged. Then immediately upon the Kings pleaſure known, the ſedition was appeaſed, but the grudge was not rid out of their hearts. The moſt part departed ſaving a few, who inſtantly required, that at the leaſt they might be ſuffered to bury the body. It was denied them long by reaſon of *Cleander*, who dreaded the Kings diſpleaſure: but becauſe they began to wax more earneſt, intending to avoid matter of ſedition, he cut off the head, which he ſent to the King, and left them the body to bury.

This was the end of *Parmenio*, a noble man both in War and Peace; many things had he done without the King, but the King without him did never any thing worthy of Praiſe. He ſerved and pleaſed in all his affairs a King moſt happy and fortunate, and being three ſcore and ten years of age, executed the office of a Captain as lively as though he had been young in years, and pretermitted not oftentimes the parts of a common Souldier. He was quick in counſel, doughtie of deed, well beloved of all Princes, but moſt dear to the common ſort of Souldiers. Yet whether thoſe things moved him to be King, or elſe cauſed him to be ſuſpected thereof, it is yet to be doubted. For whether the words that *Philotas* ſpake, when he was overcome with the pains of his laſt torments, were true or falſe, or elſe that he ſought an end of his pain by accuſing himſelf falſly, it was much doubtfull. ſeeing there was no ſuch thing proved at ſuch time as the matter was moſt freſh in memory.

Such as *Alexander* perceived to grudge at the death of *Philotas*, were ſeperated from the reſt of the Army, and put into one Cohort under *Leonidas* their Captain, who in times paſt was of near familiarity with *Parmenio*. The King did bear privie diſpleaſure againſt them, and therefore willing to prove the diſpoſition of every man, he gave warning throughout the Army, that all ſuch as would write into *Macedonia*, and have their Letters ſurely conveyed, ſhould bring them to be carried with ſuch as he would ſend. Whereupon every man did write frankly to their friends ſuch things as were in their hearts. Some ſhewed themſelves to be offended with the long wars, and ſome ſeemed to be well pleaſed: But all their Letters were intercepted, as well of ſuch as commended the King, as of thoſe that grudged at his doings.

ings. Wherefore he willed ſuch as by their Letters diſcloſed themſelves to be weary of the travel of the wars, for their reproach, to be put in a Regiment apart from the reſt, whereby he both gave them occaſion to ſhew their hardineſs, and beſides, removed the liberty of their tongues from the credulours ears of the reſt. Which raſh device, as all other things, turned to the ſetting forth of the Kings felicity; for in all extremities they ſhewed themſelves the readieſt and the moſt forward: And whileſt they coveted to redeem their reproach, their valiant doings could not be hidden in ſo ſmall a number, being ſeparate by themſelves.

Theſe things being ordered after this manner, he appointed a Ruler over the Arrians, and proclaimed his journey againſt the Araſpians, who by changing of their names, were called Evergitans, ſince the time that they relieved *Cyrus* Army with lodging and victuals, being afflicted with cold and penury. It was the fifth day before he entred into their Countrey, where he underſtood that *Satribarzanes* who took *Beſſus* patt, was with a power of horſemen entred again amongſt the Arrians: He ſent againſt him *Caranus* and *Erigius*, and in their aid *Artabaſus* and *Andromachus*, with ſix thouſand Greek footmen, and ſix hundred horſemen. *Alexander* continued threeſcore dayes in ſetting order amongſt the Evergitans, upon whom he beſtowed a great ſum of money, for the notable fidelity they ſhewed towards *Cyrus*: and leaving *Amenides* to be their Governour (who was *Darius* Secretary) he went to ſubdue the Arachoſians, who border upon the Sea of *Pontus*.

The men of War who were under *Parmenio* his Rule, came then to *Alexander*, being ſix thouſand Macedons, with two hundred of the Nobility, five thouſand Greek footmen, and two hundred horſemen, which were the chiefeſt force of his power. To theſe Arachoſians, *Memnon* was appointed Lievtenant, with four thouſand footmen, and ſix hundred horſemen.

Alexander from thence entered with his Army into a Countrey not known unto ſuch as bordered upon it, for the Inhabitants would not have converſation with any other people. They were called Paramiſadans, being a very ruſtical kind of men, and moſt rude amongſt all the barbarous nations, the hardneſs of the Countrey had ſo indurated their diſpoſitions. They lie moſt towards the cold North Pole, joyning with the the Bactrians upon the Weſt, and bending towards the

the Indian Sea upon the South. They uſe to build their houſes of brick, and becauſe the land is full of barren Mountains, and void of timber, they make their whole houſes of the ſame, which beginninning broad beneath, groweth ever more narrow towards the top, and like the Keel of a Ship, where the holes bee made above to receive light. Such of their Pines and trees that bring forth fruit, which they will preſerve from the violence of the cold, they cover with earth during the Winter ſeaſon, and when the ſnow is vaniſhed away, they reſtore them again to the air and to the Sun. The earth was there covered with ſnow, and frozen ſo hard, that there remained no ſign of any Bird or Beaſt within the Countrey. The aire beſides was ſo dark, that little light appeared; but the earth being covered as it were with a dim ſhadow, men could ſcarcely diſcern things very near at hand.

The Army being brought into this Country, deſtitute of tillage, ſuffered all the diſcommodities and miſeries that might be endured, both of hunger, cold, wearineſs, and deſpair. There were many of them that died for cold, and the ſnow deſtroyed their feet; but eſpecially it took away the ſight of many. When they were wearied and not able to travel any further, they laid themſelves down upon the frozen ſnow, and having once left the motion of their bodies which ſtirred in them their natural heat, they were ſtraightwayes ſo benummed with cold, that they could not riſe again, till they were lifted up by their companions, and there was no remedy for it, but to compel them to go forwards, for then by ſtirring of themſelves, their natural heat was revived, and they recovered again ſome ſtrength. Such as recovered the Cottages wherein the Countrey men dwelled, were very well refreſhed; but the darkneſſe was ſo great, that the houſes could not be otherwiſe diſcerned then by the ſmoak.

The inhabitants that had never ſeen ſtrangers before amongſt them, when they beheld the armed men comming ſuddenly upon them, were amazed for fear, and brought forth whatſoever they had, to ſave their bodies from violence. *Alexander* marched on foot amongſt his men, raiſing ſuch as were down, and relieving ſuch as he ſaw afflicted with the cold with his own cloathes. He was ſeen one while in the Van, an other while in the middeſt, and ſometime in the Rereward, to the great travel of his body. At length they came to places better manured, where he refreſhed his Army with plenty of victuals, and there remained in Camp till ſuch time as all the Souldiers that were left behind

did

did overtake their fellows. Then he went forwards with his Army to the Mount *Caucaſus*, which divideth all *Aſia* into two parts: For on the one ſide it ſtretcheth towards the Sea of *Cilicia*, and on the other ſide to the *Caſpian* Sea, to the River of *Araxes*, and the Deſarts of *Scythia*.

To this Mount *Caucaſus* there joyneth another Mountain, called *Taurus*, next unto it in bigneſs, which riſeth from *Cappadocia*, and paſſing by *Cilicia*, cloſeth with the Mountains of *Armenia*. Out of theſe Mountains joyning thus together as it were in one continual ridge, all the Rivers in *Aſia* do deſcend, ſome of them running into the Red Sea, ſome into the Caſpian and Hircanian Sea, and other unto the Sea of *Pontus*. In ſeventeen days, *Alexander* with his Army paſſed Mount *Caucaſus*, where, in a Rock that is ten furlongs in compaſſe, antiquity fained that *Prometheus* lay bound. At the foot of this Mountain *Alexander* choſe out a place to build a City, wherein he placed ſeven thouſand of the moſt ancient Macedons, and ſuch others whoſe ſervice he would not uſe any more in the wars, and called the ſame *Alexandria*.

But *Beſſus* that was put in fear with *Alexanders* celerity, made ſacrifice unto the Gods of his Countrey, and according to the cuſtome of thoſe, in the middeſt of his Banquets he conſulted with his friends and his Captains, for the maintainance of the wars. And when they were well charged with wine, they extolled greatly their own power; deſpiſing the raſhneſs of their enemies, and their ſmall number. But chiefly *Beſſus* was moſt arrogant in his words, who puffed up with pride by reaſon of the Kingdome he had newly gotten by Treaſon began to declare, how that *Darius* by his folly had encreaſed his enemies fame, who would needs fight with them in the ſtreights of *Cilicia*, when by retiring back he might have drawn them (before they had been aware) into deſart places, and there have put rivers and mountains between his enemies and him, and amongſt the ſame ſo encloſed them, that they could by no poſſibility have fled away, and much leſs make any reſiſtance. Wherefore (he ſaid) he was reſolved to retire back amongſt the Sogdians, where the river of *Oxus* ſhould be as a wall betwixt him and his enemies, till ſuch time as he might aſſemble a ſtrong power of the nations thereabout, knowing very well that the Choriſmians, the Dahans, and Sacans, the Indians, and Scithians, inhabiting beyond the river of *Tanais*, would come to his aſſiſtance: of

whom there was none ſo low that any Macedon with the top of his head could reach to his ſhoulders. They all in their drunkenneſs aſſented to him, affirming that onely to be the wiſeſt way: whereupon *Beſſus* cauſed the wine to be carried about plentifully to conquer *Alexander* on drink.

There was at that feaſt one *Cobares* a Median, who in the Art Magick (if it be an Art, and not rather a deceit of ſome vain man) was more notable by his profeſſion then by his knowledge, but otherwiſe a moderate and an honeſt man. He making a preamble before his diſcourſe, ſaid: he was not ignorant how much better it were to be obedient to others counſel, then to be a counſell giver. For ſuch as be followers of other mens judgements, are ſure to have no worſe fortune then the reſt; but ſuch as be authors and perſwaders of any matter, commonly prepare their own peril, and therewith delivered the cup he had in his hand, and proceeded thus.

The nature of man in this reſpect may be called perverſe, becauſe every one can ſee better into other mens affairs then into his own. Their counſels muſt needs be alwayes full of perturbations, who take their own advice. For fear is an impediment to ſome, deſire unto others, and to many a ſelf-love of the thing that they have deviſed: I will not ſpeak of pride, nor impute it unto any man. Ye have ſeen by experience how every one doth eſteem that thing onely to be beſt, which he himſelf hath invented. The Diadem of a King that you wear upon your head is a great burthen, which if it be born moderately, the weight thereof will oppreſs the bearer. It is not fury can avail in this caſe, but wiſe and prudent counſel.

When he had ſpoken thoſe words, he rehearſed a Proverb commonly uſed amongſt the Bactrians, which is, that a fearfull dog doth bark more then bite, and that the deepeſt rivers do run with leaſt noiſe; which things I have rehearſed, becauſe ſuch prudence may appear as remained amongſt the barbarous. As he talked after this manner, ſuch as heard him wondred to what end his diſcourſe would tend. Then he began to ſhew his advice, which was more profitable to *Beſſus* then gratefull.

Alexanders celerity (quoth he) is ſuch, that he is come in a manner to the entry of your Court. He can remove his army before you can remove this Table. You ſay that you will draw your aſſiſtance from the river of *Tanais*, and that you will put rivers betwixt you and your enemies.

enemies. I would know, if he be not able to follow whereſoever you ſhall fly. If the way be indifferent it muſt needs be moſt eaſie and aſſured to the Conquerour. And though you think fear doth make much ſpeed, yet hope is more ſwift. It were therefore, me thinks, expedient to procure the favour of him that is the mightieſt, and yeeld your ſelf to the ſtronger. Howſoever he ſhall accept it, your fortune is more like to be better that way, then to remain ſtill an enemy. Conſider that you poſſeſs another mans Kingdome, and therefore you may the better depart therewith. For ye cannot be a juſt King, till ye receive the Kingdome of him that is able to give it, and take it away. This is faithfull counſel, wherefore it is not neceſſary to delay the execution thereof. The horſe that is of noble courage will be governed by the ſhadow of a rod. But the dull beaſt is not pricked forwards with the ſpurre.

Beſſus that was fierce of nature, and well ſet forwards with drink, became in ſuch a fury at his words, that he could ſcarcely be withheld by his friends from ſleying of *Cobares*, for he pulled out his ſword to have done the deed, and departed out of the feaſt in a great rage. But *Cobares* in the tumult eſcaped away, and came unto *Alexander*. *Beſſus* had eight thouſand Bactrians armed attending upon him, who ſo long as they judged by the intemperateneſs of the air in theſe parts, the Macedons would rather have gone into *India* then into *Bactria*, were very obedient to his commandement, But when they underſtood that *Alexander* was comming towards them, every one ſhrunk away and forſook *Beſſus*. Then he with a band of his own family who were yet faithfull unto him, paſſed the river of *Oxus*, burning ſuch boats as carried him over, becauſe that the ſame ſhould not ſerve his enemy in following him, and aſſembled a new power amongſt the Sogdians. *Alexander*, as it hath been ſaid before, paſſed Mount *Caucaſus*, but for want of Corn his army was brought to the extremity of hunger. Inſtead of oyl they were fain to anoint themſelves with a juyce, which they wrung out of *Seſeman*, every meaſure whereof was called *Amphora*, and ſold for 240 deniers, every like meaſure of honey for 390, and of wine for 300, and yet of the ſame very little to be had. They have in that country certain veſſels called *Siry*, which the inhabitants do uſe to hide ſo privily, that they cannot be found except they be digged for within the earth. The country men bury there their corn after that manner, for want whereof the ſouldiers were fain to live with hearbs, and ſuch fiſh

as they caught in the rivers. But that kind of food failing alſo, they were inforced to kill their carriage beaſts, and lived with the fleſh of them untill they came into *Bactria*, the nature of the ſoil of which countrey, is of ſundry kinds. Some places are plentifull of Wood and Vines, and abundant of pleaſant fruit, the ground is fat, well watered, and full of Springs, and ſome as barren.

Thoſe parts which be moſt temperate are ſowed with Corn, and the reſt be reſerved for feeding of beaſts. But the greater part of that Countrey is covered over with barren ſands, and withered up for want of moiſture, nouriſhing neither man, nor bringing forth fruit, but with certain winds that come from the ſea of *Pontus*, the ſand in the plains is blown together in heaps, which ſeem a farre off like great hills, whereby the accuſtomed wayes be ſo ſhut up, that no ſign of them can appeare. Therefore ſuch as do poſſeſſe thoſe thoſe plains uſe to obſerve the Stars in the night, as they do who ſail on the ſeas, by the courſe of them directing their journey; the nights for the moſt part be brighter then the days; wherefore in the day time the Country is wild and unpaſſeable, when they can neither find any tract nor any way to go in, nor mark nor ſign whereby to paſs, the ſtars being hidden by the miſt. If the ſame wind chance to come, during the time that men be paſſing, it overwhelmeth them with ſand.

Where the Countrey is temperate, it bring bringing forth great plenty both of men and horſe; ſo that the Bactrians may make thirty thouſand horſemen. *Bactria* which is the head City of that Region, ſtandeth under a Mountain called *Parapaniſus*: the river called *Bactria* runneth by the walls, whereof both the City and the Countrey take their names.

Alexander being there in Camp, received Letters out of *Greece*, how the Lacedemonians, and the whole country of *Peloponeſus* had rebelled againſt him. For they had not loſt the battel at ſuch time as the Meſſengers were diſpatched, that brought the news of their revolt. In the neck of theſe evill tidings, there came another preſent terrour which was that the Scithians inhabiting beyond the River of *Tanais*, were comming to aid *Beſſus*. At the ſame time alſo, tidings came unto him of the battel that *Caranus* and *Erigius* had fought with the Arians, where *Satribarzanes* that was newly revolted being chief of the Country, ſeeing the battel to remain equal on both ſides, rid into the foreſront and plucked of his helmet, forbidding any of his ſide, either to

caſt

caſt dart, or ſtrike a ſtroke, and there made a challenge to fight hand to hand, if any man durſt come forth and prove his ſtrength,

Erigius Captain to the Macedons was a man ſtricken in years, but yet not inferiour to any young man, in ſtoutneſs of ſtomack, or ſtrength of body, who could not bear the proud arrogancy of *Satribarzanes*, but ſtepping forwards and plucking off his helmet, ſhewed his hoary hair. The day is come (qd. he) that I will either by the victory, or by my honeſt death, make trial what kind of men *Alexander* hath to his friends and his ſouldiers, and without more words he made towards his enemy. It could not be judged, but that both armies had ſtayed their hands by appointment, for they gave back immediately on both ſides, to let them have free ſcope, each party ſtanding in expectation what ſhould become of the challenger; for they could not but think themſelves partakers of their adventure. *Satribarzanes* firſt charged his ſtaff, which *Erigius* avoided by bending his head aſide, but he in the midſt of his race, ſtrook the other with his ſpear through the throat, ſo that it came forth again at his neck. *Satribarzanes* upon that ſtroke fell down from his horſe, but yet made reſiſtance till ſuch time as *Erigius* plucked the ſpear out of the wound, and thruſt it again into his mouth; who to rid himſelf out of pain, furthered his enemies ſtroke. Then the Arians ſeeing their Captain ſlain, whom they had followed rather of neceſſity then of their own free wills, called to remembrance *Alexanders* benefits, and yeelded themſelves unto *Erigius*.

Alexander rejoyced much at the good ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, doubting greatly the Lacedemonians, but he did bear out their rebellion ſtoutly, ſaying, that they durſt never diſcloſe their meaning, until they knew he was come to the confines of *India*. *Alexander* having removed his Camp, and going forwards in the purſuit of *Beſſus*, *Erigius* met him, preſenting the ſpoil of his enemy, as a memorial of his victory. Thereupon he committed the rule of *Bactria* to *Artabaſus*, where with a Gariſon he left his carriage, and with a power that was light, and fit for travel, he entred into the deſarts of the Suſitans, conveying his Army by night.

In the want of water (that hath been declared before) deſperation moved them to thirſt before they had deſire to drink. For by the ſpace of four hundred Furlongs, they found no water at all. The vapours of the Sunne in the Summer ſeaſon, did ſo burn the Land, that when it began to wax hot, it ſcorched all things as it had been

with a continuall fire. And then the light being ſomewhat obſcured by the miſt that roſe out of the earth by the immoderate heat, cauſed the plains to have an appearance of the main ſea.

Their journey in the night ſeemed tollerable, becauſe their bodies were ſomewhat refreſhed with the deaw and the cold of the morning. But when the day came, and the heat roſe, then the drought drying up all the naturall humours, both their mouths and their bowels were inflamed with heat. Then their hearts failed, and their bodies fainted, being in ſuch a condition that they could neither ſtand ſtill, nor paſs forwards. A few that were taught by ſuch as knew the Country, had gotten water, which refreſhed them ſomewhat; but as the heat increaſed ſo their deſire grew again to drink. There was no remedy but to give amongſt the ſouldiers all the wine and oyl that remained in ſtore. For drink was ſo ſweet unto them, that it took away the fear of any thirſt to come. But ſuch as had greedily gulled in the water that they got, became ſo heavy, that they were neither able to bear their armour, nor go forwards: ſo that they ſeemed moſt happy who had gotten no water at all, for ſuch as had taken of it inordinately, were enforced by vomit to put up the ſame again.

As *Alexander* carefully in this calamity ſtood with his friends that were perſwading him to have reſpect to himſelf, for that he onely, and the greatneſs of his heart ſhould be ſome relief unto them in this adverſity, there came two ſouldiers who going before with ſuch as had taken up the Camp, had found water, and were carrying of it in bottels unto their ſons, which were ſore afflicted for want of drink behind in the army, when they ſaw the King, one of them opened his bottel, and filling a cup preſented the water to the King, who receiving it at his hand, demanded to whom they carried that water, they ſaid to their ſons. Then he reſtored the cup again full as it was given him, and ſaid; I will not drink alone: for ſo little cannot be divided amongſt us all. Make you haſt therefore to carry to your ſons that you have got with your travel.

But *Alexander* travelled ſo long, that before night he came to the River of *Oxus*: The more part of the Army, not able to follow for feebleneſs, were left farbehind; to the intent therefore that ſuch as followed after, might know where the Camp was, hee cauſed a fire to be made on the top of an hill, and gave order, that when the vaward had refreſhed themſelves with meat and drink, they ſhould

fill

fill their bottles with water, and go back with the ſame to relieve their fellows. The breath of ſuch as drank intemperately, cloſed up, and they died immediately, the number of theſe was greater then ever *Alexander* loſt in any Battel; But he would neither put off his arms, refreſh himſelf with meat or drink, nor eaſe his body, but ſtood in the way where his Army paſſed, not departing till the laſt man was come into the Camp. He watched all that night, and paſſed it over in great trouble of mind, and the day that enſued brought no releaſe of his care: For there were neither boats to paſs the River withal, nor could he make any bridge, ſeeing there was no wood growing nigh at hand. But at length he found out a device, whereunto only neceſſity did inforce him. They took beaſts skins, and ſtuffed them full of ſtraw, whereupon they laid themſelves, and ſo ſwimmed over the river. Such as firſt recovered the further ſide, ſtood in order of Battel till the reſt were paſſed over, by which means in ſix dayes he conveyed over his whole Army.

Having thus paſſed march the River of *Oxus*, his purpoſe was to go forwards in the purſuit of *Beſſus*, till he underſtood ſuch things as had chanced among the Suſitans. There was one *Spitamines*, whom *Beſſus* chiefly honoured of all his friends. But there be no benefits that can ſtay a man given up to perjury, which in him was the more tolerable, becauſe he judged no miſchief too great for him who had ſlain his Prince, for the revenge of *Darius* was a fair colour to his offence; but it is to be thought, that his preſent fortune was more envied, then then his paſt actions were hated.

When it was known that *Alexander* had advanced over the River of *Oxus*, *Spitamenes* did aſſociate with him in counſel for his enterpriſe *Dataphernes* and *Catenes*, whom *Beſſus* ſpecially truſted: They agreed to the Deſign more readily then he would deſire them, and taking to them eight young men that were ſtrong of perſonage, uſed this kind of policy. *Spitamenes* repaired to *Beſſus*, and getting him alone, informed him, that hee had found out how *Datapherues* and *Catenes* had conſpired to deliver him alive into *Alexanders* hands, whereas (he ſaid) he had prevented them, while they were about their purpoſe, having taken them both, and put them faſt in priſon.

Beſſus then thinking himſelfe much bound unto him for ſo great a good turn, gave him many thanks, and for the deſire he had to be revenged

venged of his enemies, willed *Spitamenes* to bring them to his preſence. He cauſed their hands to be bound behind their backs, and to be brought by ſuch as were privie to their confederacy. When they came in *Beſſus* preſence, he beheld them with a fell countenance, and roſe up to have ſtruck at them, But then they left their counterfeiting, and ſtraightwayes enclofing *Beſſus* about, bound him, he ſtrugling in vain, and pulled the Diadem from his head, tearing the garments from his back, which ſometimes belonged to his Prince whom he had ſlain.

When he ſaw himſelf in this condition, he confeſſed that the Gods had righteouſly revenged his treaſon, and perceived by the plague they ſent him, that they both favoured *Darius*, and were friends to *Alexander*, whoſe enemies evermore preferred his victory. It is uncertain whether the multitude would have aſſiſted *Beſſus* or not, but that *Spitamenes* had given forth that it was done by *Alexanders* appointment, whereby he put them into a fear, being yet doubtfull of mind, and ſet *Beſſus* upon an horſe, on the which he brought him unto *Alexander*, who in the mean ſeaſon had choſen out 900., ſuch as by reaſon of their age were not meet for the wars, and gave to every horſeman two Talents, and to every footman three thouſand Deniers. That done, he diſpatched them home, and gave thanks unto the reſt, becauſe they promiſed to continue with him untill hee had brought his Wars to an end.

Beſſus was preſented unto him at a little Town, whereof the Inhabitants be called *Branchidans*, who in times paſt by the Commandement of *Xerxes* when he came out of *Greece* were brought from *Miletum*, and placed there, becauſe that in his favour they had violated a Temple called *Didyma*. They had not altogether forgotten their Countrey cuſtomes, but had mixed their tongue, which by little and little degenerated from their own language, and had not yet attained fully that country ſpeech. They received the King with great joy, yeelding themſelves and their City unto his will. Whereupon he called to him the Mileſians that ſerved him in his wars (who bare an ancient hatred againſt this generation of the Branchidans) and left it to them to determine whether they would ſave them for the Country ſake, or elſe deſtroy them for the injury they had done them in times paſt. But when the Mileſians could not agree in opinion, he ſaid, he would order the matter himſelf,

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The next day when the Branchidans came to meet him, he returned them all again into the City, and commanded the footmen to incloſe the City round, and entred with ſuch as he had appointed for that purpoſe, and by a token given, he put all to the ſword, and raſed the City as a receptacle of traytors, they being without armour in every place. Neither the affinity of their tongue, nor any prayer or interceſſion could mitigate their enemies cruelty, who after the deſtruction of the town did caſt down the walls to the ground, ſo that no memory of them doth remain. That done, they did not onely cut down the woods, wherein they uſed their ſacrifice, but alſo plucked up the trees by the roots, that the ground might be left barren and deſolate. If the ſame things had been done againſt the very offendors, the revenge might have been thought righteous: but to lay the fault of the predeceſſours upon their poſterity, it is judged as a cruel act, being there were not any of them then preſent, that had ever ſeen *Miletum*, or done to *Xerxes* any kind of pleaſure. As *Alexander* removed from thence towards the river of *Tanais*, *Beſſus* was brought before him, not onely ſpoiled of all his garments: whom *Spitamenes* led in a chain put about his neck: a pleaſant ſight to behold, as well to the barbarous as to the Macedons. When *Spitamenes* was come with him into *Alexanders* preſence, he ſaid:

I have brought here unto you the killer of his own maſter, after the ſame manner that he himſelf gave the example: wherein *I* have both revenged *Darius* that was my King, and you alſo that now have gained the ſoveraignty. Let *Darius* open his eyes, and riſe from death, to behold this ſight, who was unworthy of ſuch an end, and worthy to behold and receive ſuch a ſpectacle as this.

After that *Alexander* had given *Spitamenes* thanks, hee turned himſelf unto *Beſſus*, and ſaid.

What beaſtly fury moved thee to take thine own Prince priſoner, and afterwards to kill him, having ſo well deſerved of thee? of which thy doings, thou ſhalt receive a ſufficient reward, by uſurping the counterfeit name of a King.

He had no heart to make anſwer or to excuſe his offence, ſaving that he ſaid: he took upon him to be King, becauſe he might deliver him the poſſeſſion of the country, which thing if he had omitted, ſome other he ſaid would have taken it in hand. Then *Alexander* called for *Oxatres*, *Darius* brother, whom he had placed about his perſon, and commit-

ted *Beſſus* to his keeping, to the intent he ſhould cut off his ears and his noſe, and hang him upon a Croſſe, cauſing his own men to ſhoot him through with arrows, and ſo preſerve his body that birds ſhould not touch him. *Oxatres* promiſed to perform all the reſt, ſaving the keeping away the Birds, which for the deſire he had to ſet forth *Catenes* cunning, he affirmed that none could ſo well keep them away as he, who did ſhoot ſo aſſuredly, that he could ſtrike the Birds flying in the Ayr. And though it was a cunning not ſo much to be marvelled at in a Nation ſo expert in ſhooting, yet it was greatly admired by ſuch as did behold him, and it was great honour unto the doer. He gave rewards unto ſuch as were theapprehenders of *Beſſus*, but he deferred his puniſhment, becauſe he minded to put him to death in the ſame place where he ſlew *Darius*.

In the mean ſeaſon, the Macedons going a forraging without order, were overthrown by the enemies that came running down the next mountains; They took more then they did kill, and driving their priſoners before them, retired again unto the mountains. There were of them to the number of twenty thouſand, who accuſtomed to live by theft, uſing ſlings and bows in their fight, whom while *Alexander* did beſiege, and in a skirmiſh preſſed upon the with them formoſt, he was ſtriken with an arrow inthe midſt of his leg, where the head did ſtick faſt. The Macedons that were ſorrowfull and amazed for their Kings hurt, carried him into his tent, of whoſe departure out of the field his enemies were not ignorant, for they might behold all things from the Mountains. The next day they ſent Embaſſadours to *Alexander*, whom he admitted to his preſence, and unfolding his wound (whereby he thought to diſſemble the greatneſs therof) he ſhewed his leg unto them. When they were commanded to ſit down, they ſaid, that hearing of his hurt, they were as ſorrowfull for it as his own ſubjects, which ſhould well be known, for if they could find out the perſon that did the deed, he ſhould be delivered into his hands: They could not (they ſaid) but judge them ſacrilegious perſons, who would fight with Gods, of whoſe number they ſuppoſed him to be, and therefore were determined to yeeld themſelves. Thereupon he gave them aſſurance, and receiving again his men that were taken priſoners, he admitted them to be his ſubjects.

That done, he removed his Camp, and was carried in a Litter, for the bearing whereof the horſemen and footmen contended together:

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The horſemen alledged it to be their office, becauſe the King uſed to fight amongſt them; and the footmen alledged, that in as much as they uſed to carry the wounded ſouldiers, they thought no reaſon their office ſhould be taken from them, chiefly when the King ſhould be carried. *Alexander* therefore in ſo great contention of both parties, thought it a difficult matter for him to give ſentence, becauſe the judgement ſhould be grievous to them that ſhould be put by their Office, and therefore ordered that they ſhould carry him by courſe.

From thence the fourth day he came unto a City called *Maracanda*, the walls whereof were threeſcore and ten furlongs about, but the Caſtle was without any wall: He ſet a Garriſon in the City, and then burned and deſtroyed the Countrey thereabouts. Embaſſadours came unto him thither from thoſe Scythians which are called Avians, who had been free ſince the time that *Cyrus* was among them, but yet they ſhewed themſelves then ready to be at his commandement: They were known to be the moſt righteous people of all the barbarous Nations, as men that never uſed to make war but when they were provoked, whoſe moderation and temperance in uſing of their liberty, made the inferiors equal unto the ſuperiors.

Alexander received them gently, and ſent *Penidas*, a friend of his, to thoſe Scythians that inhabited within *Europe*, to forbid them to paſſe the River of *Tanais* without his appointment: He had alſo a ſecret Commiſſion to view the ſcituation of the Countrey, and to viſit thoſe Scythians that inhabited about *Boſphorus*. He willed him beſides to chooſe out a place upon the brink of *Tanais*, where he might build a City, to remain as a Fortreſs, for the ſubduing of thoſe people that he intended to viſit.

But this deſign was delayed by the rebellion of the Sogdians, who had alſo drawn the Bactrians to their part. There were of them ſeven thouſand horſemen, whoſe authority the reſt followed. For the ſubduing of whom *Alexander* cauſed *Spitamenes* and *Catenes* (the betrayers of *Beſſus*) to be ſent for, thinking by their means to bring the Country again to his obedience, and to ſuppreſs thoſe who had made this ſtir. But they who were judged meet to ſtay the rebellion, and were ſent for to that intent, were the chief authours of that rebellion; for they cauſed it to be noiſed abroad, that *Alexander* had ſent for the Bactrian horſemen of purpoſe to deſtroy them all, which Commiſſion (they ſaid) being appointed to them, they would not execute,

becauſe they thought it too foul an act to commit againſt their Countrey-men, and for that cauſe they could as ill bear *Alexanders* cruelty then, as in times paſt *Beſſus* treaſon. By this means, when the fear of death was put into their heads, they were eaſily ſtirred to arms, to which before they were ſufficiently inclined of their own minds. When *Alexander* was advertiſed of their doings, he willed *Craterus* to beſiege *Cyropolis*, and he himſelf wan another City of that Countrey by an aſſault that he gave to it on all parts at once, and by a ſign given cauſed all the children to be put to death, making the reſt a prey for the ſouldiers. This done, the City was raced to the ground, to the intent that others by their example might be kept in obedience. There were a valiant people called *Memacenans*, who were determined to abide the ſiege, not onely for their honeſties ſake, but alſo for that they thought it moſt for their ſurety. For the mitigating of their wilfulneſſe, the King ſent unto them fifty horſemen, to declare his clemency towards ſuch as ſubmitted themſelves, and how inexorable he was unto ſuch as he overcame by force. Their anſwer was, that they neither doubted the Kings promiſe, nor his power: But after their anſwer given, they lodged them without the walls, where entertaining them with great chear until it was midnight, they ſet upon them, and ſlew them all. *Alexander* was no leſſe moved with this act, then the cauſe required, he therefore made an aſſault upon the City on all parts at once, which he found furniſhed in ſuch wiſe, that he could not take it at the firſt attempt. Wherefore he appointed *Meleager* and *Perdicas* unto the ſiege thereof, who then were beſieging of *Cyropolis*, minding to ſpare the ſame, becauſe it was builded by *Cyrus*, for he had not ſo great admiration of any King that had reigned in thoſe parts as of him and *Semiramis*, whoſe magnanimity of mind, and great atchievements ſeemed to him to exceed the reſt: But the obſtinate wilfulneſs of the inhabitants ſtirred up his wrath; for when he had taken the City, he willed the Macedons to ſpoil it, who had enough cauſe to be moved againſt them, and ſo returned to *Meleager* and *Perdicas*. There was not one City that did more valiantly abide the ſiege, then the ſame did, for both the hardieſt of the ſouldiers were ſlain, and the King was brought in great danger, being ſtruck in the neck with a ſtone, ſo that his ſight failed him, and he was felled to the earth, and for the preſent loſt his ſence. The army lamented, thinking he had been dead; But he was invincible againſt thoſe things which put other men

men in moſt fear. For without tarrying, he dreſſed his wound, returning to the fight, and after anger had ſtirred up the eagerneſs he had of nature, he renued the aſſault more fiercely then before. At length a great piece of the wall was overthrown by a mine, at which he brake in, and put the whole City to ſack and ruine. He ſent from thence *Menedemus* with 3000. footmen, and 800. horſemen, to the City of *Maracanda* which *Spitamenes* had newly taken, and put out from thence the Gariſon of the Macedons, the Citizens not conſenting to it: But when they ſaw they could not withſtand him, it was of neceſſity for them to agree to his will. *Alexander* in the mean ſeaſon came to the River of *Tanais*, where he incloſed about with a wall ſo much ground as his camp did contain, extending in compaſſe 60. furlongs, and named the ſame City *Alexandria*. This was done with ſuch expedition, that within 17. days after the walls were raiſed, the houſes alſo were builded, and the whole work was performed in a very ſmall ſeaſon, through the contention amongſt the ſouldiers, who ſhould perform his work firſt, when the ſame was divided into portions among them. Their priſoners (whoſe ranſomes *Alexander* paid to their takers) were appointed to inhabite this City, the deſcent of whom after ſo long time are not yet worn out, ſuch favour hath been ſhewed them in the memory of *Alexander*. The King of Scythia, whoſe Empire was then beyond the River of *Tanais*, judging that the fortifying upon the rivers ſide ſhould be as a yoke to his neck did ſend his brother *Carcaſis* with a great power of horſemen to beat down the fortification, & to remove away the Macedons from the waters ſide. That river divideth the Bactrians from the Scythians of *Europe*, and is the limit which parteth *Aſia* and *Europe* aſunder. But the Countreys that the Scythians do inhabite, do ſtretch as far as *Thracia*, and lie betwixt the North and the Eaſt, joyning with *Sarmatia*, and poſſeſsing part of it. The Countrey alſo that lieth beyond the River of *Iſther*, is inhabited by them, their utmoſt bounds ſtretching to *Bactria*, and to the furtheſt bounds of *Aſia* Northwards, where be wonderfull great woods and wild deſarts: But ſuch of them as bounded neat unto *Tanais* and *Bactria* wanted not much of the civility of other Nations.

This being the firſt time that *Alexander* had to do with theſe people, when hee ſaw that hee had to enter into a war for the which he was not provided, his enemies riding up and downe in his ſight, and hee diſeaſed of his wound, eſpecialy not having the uſe of his ſpeech, which failed much by reaſon of his long abſtinence, and

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the pain in his neck, he called his friends to counſel, and declared unto them that he was not troubled with any fear of his enemies, but with the iniquity of the time, the Bactrians rebelling, and the Scithians provoking him, when neither he was able to ſtand upon the ground, nor ſtrong enough to ride on horſeback, nor yet in caſe to give adviſe or exhortation to his men. In conſideration therefore of the doubtfull danger in which he ſaw himſelf involved, he accuſed the Gods, complaining that he was then inforced to lie ſtill, whoſe ſwiftneſs before time none was able to eſcape.

The danger grew ſo great, that his own men beleeved he had counterfeited his ſickneſs for fear. And therefore he who ſince the overthrow of *Darius* hath left conſultation with the Diviners and Prophets, turned himſelf again to the vanity and ſuperſtition of men, willing *Ariſtander* (unto whom he was addicted moſt) that he ſhould try out by ſacrifice what his ſucceſs ſhould be. The cuſtome of them who were called *Aruſpices*, was to conſider the intrails of the beaſts without the King, and to make report of the ſignification. In the mean ſeaſon while they were ſearching ſecrets that way, he willed *Epheſtion*, *Craterus*, *Erigius*, & others of his friends to draw near about him, leſt by ſtraining his voice he might break out his wound again, and ſaid thus unto them.

The danger I am in, hath cauſed the time to ſerve better for mine enemies, then for me; neceſſity I ſee chiefly in the wars doth go before reaſon, For it is ſeldome given to men to chooſe their own time. The Bactrians be revolted, upon whoſe ſhoulders yet we ſtand, purpoſing to trie what courage we are of by our behaviour towards the Scithians. If we leave off with doubtfull fortune and not meddle with them, who of their own mind have provoked us, we ſhall at our return be had in contempt of them whom we intend to viſit. But if we ſhall paſs the river of *Tanais*, and by the deſtruction of the Scithians, ſhew our ſelves invincible every where, who will then doubt but *Europe* will lie open, and give obedience to us being victorers? he is deceived that doth meaſure by any diſtance the bounds of glory we intend to paſs. There is but one river that letteth us now, for bringing of our power over into *Europe*, which if we ſhall effect, what an eſtimation ſhall it be for us, whiles we be ſubduing of *Aſia*, to ſet up the monuments of our victories, as it were in a new world, joyning ſo ſoon together with one victory, that which nature ſeemeth to have divided with ſo great a diſtance

ſtance: but if we ſhall ſtay never ſo little and give ground, the Scithians will then come after us and purſue us in our Rear. Be there no more but we who have paſſed Rivers? there be many inventions yet remaining amongſt our ſelves, whereby we have gotten many victo. But fortune of the war doth teach policy to ſuch as be overcome, we have ſhewed a preſident of late to ſwim over rivers upon bottles: which thing if the Scithians cannot do, the Bactrians ſhall teach them. It is but the power of one nation that now commeth againſt you, all the others ſtand yet in a ſtay to underſtand of our doings. So that by eſchewing a battel we ſhall nouriſh war, and be compelled to receive thoſe blows, which lie in us to give to others. The reaſon of my adviſe is manifeſt. But whether the Macedons will ſuffer me to uſe my own diſpoſition I much doubt, becauſe that ſince I received this wound, I have not ridden on horſeback, nor gone on foot. If you will follow me my friends, I am recovered, I have ſtrength enough to endure theſe things. And if the end of my life be at hand, wherein can I ſpend it better.

Theſe words that he ſpake were uttered with a broken and weak voice, ſo that they could ſcarcely be heard of ſuch as were next him. But when his meaning was perceived, all that were preſent went about to divert him from ſo raſh an enterpriſe. But *Erigius* wrought chiefly in the matter, who perceiving that his authority could not preail againſt the Kings obſtinate mind, attempted to work him by religion, which he judged of greater force. For he declared that the Gods were againſt his determination, who had ſignified great perill to inſue, if he paſſed the river. He ſaid he had underſtood that thing by *Ariſtander*, who told him, at his comming into the Pavilion what he had perceived in the intrails of the beaſts. *Alexander* at theſe words was wonderfully troubled with anger and ſhame, when he ſaw the ſecrets of that religion brought to light, which he thought to have kept ſecret to himſelf: and therefore cauſed *Erigius* to go aſide, and *Ariſtander* to be called in unto him, whom he beheld in the face and ſaid,

I ſeem to thee rather a private man than a King: I commanded thee to ſacrifice, and thou haſt declared the ſignification thereof to others, and not to me. For Erigius *by thy report knoweth the ſecreſie pertaining to me: but ſurely I believe that through his own fear he deviſed an interpretation of himſelf. Therefore let me hear from thy own mouth, what thou haſt found in the intrails, to the intent that thou ſhalt not deny what thou haſt ſpoken.* Ari-

Ariſtander thereupon was amazed, and looked pale, not able to anſwer one word for fear. But at length the ſame fear that made him hold his peace, invited him to ſpeak, and leaſt the prolonging of the Kings expectation might provoke him unto further wrath, he anſwered.

I ſaid (quoth he) that there was in the enterpriſe great danger and difficulty, but yet that your attempt ſhould not be in vain, there is nothing that I have perceived by my ſcience, that troubleth me ſo much as the love I bare to you, for I both conſider your infirmity, and what a moment conſiſteth in your perſon, fearing you ſhould not be able to endure the things that fortune is diſpoſed to give unto you.

When *Alexander* heard him ſpeak after that manner, he willed him to have confidence in his felicity, to whom fortune had granted glory in greater things, and thereupon diſmiſſed him. Afterwards as the King was debating with ſuch as he conſulted with before, by what means he ſhould paſs the river, *Ariſtander* came amongſt them, affirming that he had found the intrails contrary to what he did before, with as likely ſigns of good ſucceſs as any that ever he ſaw, ſhewing them then as great cauſes to rejoyce, as he did before to fear. But immediately hereupon *Alexander* received news that much impaired that felicity he was wont to have in all his proceedings. *Menedemus* being ſent (as it hath been ſaid before) to beſiege *Spitamenes* the author of the Bactrian rebellion, when he underſtood of his enemies comming, both in avoiding to be incloſed within the walls, and truſting beſides to take ſome advantage of the Macedons, he laid an ambuſcado to intrap them. There was a wood through the which they ſhould paſs, very apt for the purpoſe, where he laid the Dahans, who were accuſtomed to carry two armed men upon one horſe, from whence they uſed to leap down by courſe; and becauſe the ſwiftneſs of the footmen was little inferiour to the horſemen, they troubled greatly the order of the horſemens fight. *Spitamenes* gave order to them that when they ſhould enter into the wood, they ſhould environ them on all ſides, which they performed according to his appointment.

Menedemus ſeeing himſelf incloſed on all parts, and not equall in number unto his enemies, reſiſted a great while, crying out to the ſouldiers, that there remained no hope to them being intrapped after that manner, but, by making ſlaughter upon their enemies, to receive the comfort of an honeſt death. *Menedemus* rode upon a ſtrong horſe, charging

charging oft times upon his enemies, whereby he brake their order, and made great ſlaughter, till ſuch time as he being laid at on all parts, received many wounds, and fainted for want of bloud. Then he exhorted *Hiſpides* that was one of his friends, to leap upon his horſe, and eſcape away, and with that word he ſwouned, and fell from his horſe to the ground. *Hiſpalis* might have got away, but after he had loſt his friend, he determined there to die, taking no other care but how to loſe his life with the ruine of his enemies. Wherefore he put his ſpurs to his horſe, and ran in amongſt them, where he fought notably, and at length was ſlain.

When the reſt ſaw this overthrow, and the loſs of their Captains, they recovered an hill, where *Spitamenes* did beſiege them, thinking to ſubdue them for want of victuals. There were ſlain in the battel two thouſand footmen, and three hundred horſemen, which miſadventure *Alexander* with great policy kept ſecret, commanding them that departed from the field, upon pain of death not to publiſh this deſeat. But when he could not bear out any longer a countenance contrary to his heart, he went alone to his Pavilion which he had ſet of purpoſe upon the Rivers ſide. There he walked all night, deviſing with himſelf what was beſt to do, and divers times he lifted up his tent to behold the fires in his enemies camp, thereby to conjecture their number.

When the day appeared, he put on a Corſlet, and came forth among the ſouldiers, being the firſt time they had ſeen him ſince he received his hurt. They did bear ſuch a veneration unto their King, that with his preſence one'y they put away the remembrance of the fear which cauſed them before to ſhrink, and rejoyced ſo heartily, that when they ſaluted him, the tears diſtilled from their eyes, and earneſtly deſired the fight which they had before refuſed. He took order there amongſt them, that the horſemen, and ſuch as were of the ſquare battel of footmen ſhould be carried over in boats, and that the light armed ſhould ſwim upon bottles. The buſineſs required not much more to be ſpoken, neither could the King ſay much more by reaſon of his infirmity; for the ſouldiers went about it with ſuch chearfulneſs of mind, that within three dayes they had finiſhed twelve thouſand boats. When all things were prepared in readineſs for their paſſage, there came twenty Embaſſadours of the Scythians riding by the Camp, who required that it might be declared to the King, that they had ſomething in commiſſion to declare unto him.

When they were received into his Pavilion and commanded to ſit down, they fixed their eyes continually upon the Kings countenance, whereby it was thought, that weighing the greatneſs of his courage by his perſonage which they ſaw preſent, it appeared unto them but ſmall in reſpect of the fame they heard of him. The wits of the Scythians are not rude, and without knowledge, as other barbarous nations are. For it is ſaid that many of them attain to ſuch learning as it is poſſible for a nation being alwaies in exerciſe of the wars. Their words ſpoken unto *Alexander* are left in memory, who though they differ from the manner of us who live in more civil times, and frame our ſelves to more humanity, yet the fidelity of the matter is not to be deſpiſed, though the phraſe of their ſpeech is rough. And therefore I ſhall declare uncorruptly the words which the eldeſt of theſe Embaſſadors did ſpeak after this manner.

If the Gods had given thee a body according to the unſatiable deſire of thy mind, the world ſhould not be able to receive thee, but thou ſhouldeſt touch the Orient with one hand, and the Occident with the other, which thing once obtained, thy care ſhould be to become equall to the Gods. Thus thou doeſt covet the thing thou art not able to compaſs. From *Europe* thou goeſt into *Aſia*, and from *Aſia* into *Europe*. It muſt come to paſs, that if thou doeſt overcome all mankind, thou muſt make war with woods and ſnows, with rivers and wild beaſts. What? art thou ignorant that trees do grow till they be great, and then be plucked up from the root in a moment? He is a fool that coveteth fruit, and conſidereth not the height of the tree whereon it groweth. Take heed leaſt whiles thou doeſt labour to attain to the top, thou falleſt with the bowes which thou doeſt imbrace. The Lyon hath been ſometime the food of ſmall birds, and the ruſt doth conſume the Iron. There is nothing ſo ſure that is not in danger of its inferiour. What have we to do with thee? we never touched thy country. It is not deſired by us that live in the waſte woods to be ignorant what thou art, and from whence thou comeſt? we can neither be ſubject to any man, nor do deſire to rule over any creature. And becauſe you ſhall not be ignorant of the ſtate of our nation, we have certain gifts in proper to us: as the yoak of Oxen, the Plough, the Spear, the Bow, and the Boal, which be the things that we uſe both with our friends, and againſt our enemies. We do give unto friends, of the fruits got

got with our labours, With the Boal we ſacrifice wine unto the Gods; with the bow we ſtrike our enemies a far off, and with the Spear near at hand. After that ſort in times paſt we overcame the King of *Scithia*, and afterwards the King of *Perſia* and *Media*, making the way open to us into *Ægypt*. But thou who doeſt glory, that thou art come to be a perſecuter of Theeves, art a robber of all nations that thou commeſt amongſt. Thou haſt taken *Lydia*, poſſeſſed *Syria*, enjoyed *Perſia*, and haſt the Bactrians under thy power. Thou haſt viſited the Indians, and now ſtretcheſt forth thy ravenous hands unto our cattle, Why doſt thou covet that wealth which cauſeth thee to be poor? Thou art the firſt of all men who with aboundance haſt prepared hunger for thy ſelf, and the more thou haſt, the more greedily doeſt thou covet the things thou haſt not. Doeſt thou not remember how long thou didſt ſtay about *Bactria*, And whiles thou didſt go about to ſubdue them the Sogdians began to rebel? Thus war doth grow unto thee of victory, For be thou never ſo great and puiſſant above any other, yet there be none that can endure to be governed by a ſtranger. Paſs now *Tanais*, thou ſhalt perceive what breadth it beareth, and yet thou ſhalt never overtake the Scithians, whoſe poverty is ſwifter then thy army carrying the ſpoil of ſo many nations. For when thou ſhalt think us to be a far off, thou ſhalt ſee us within thy Camp, with like ſwiftneſs we follow and flie away. I hear that our deſarts be ſcorned by the Greek Proverbs, we covet rather Deſarts and places unhabited, then Cities and plentifull Countries. Therefore hold thou thy fortune faſt, for ſhe is fickle, and cannot be kept againſt her will. Follow thou the counſel that is good, eſpecially when the time doth ſerve. Put a bridle to thy felicity, and thou ſhalt govern it the better. We ſay that fortune is without feet, and that ſhe hath onely hands and wings: but when ſhe putteth forth her hand, ſhe wil not ſuffer her wings to be touched. If thou be a God then give benefits unto mortal men, and take not away the commodities they have already. If thou be a man conſider thine own eſtate, it is fooliſhneſs to remember thoſe things which cauſe thee to forget thy ſelf. Such as by war thou makeſt thine enemies, by peace thou mayeſt make them thy friends. The moſt firm friendſhip is amongſt them that be equal, and they ſeem equall who have not yet made any trial of their force. Take heed thou takeſt them not for thy friends, whom thou didſt ſubdue and bring to ſubjection. There is no friendſhip between the Lord and the ſlave: and

in peace the law of arms is obſerved. Think not that the Scythians do confirm their friendſhip with any oath, for they think they ſwear in keeping of their faith. The cuſtome of the Greeks is to juſtifie their doings by calling their Gods to witneſs: but we acknowledge religion to conſiſt in the faith it ſelf. They that do not their due reverence unto men, deceive the Gods. Think not thoſe friends to be neceſſary unto thee, of whoſe good will thou ſhalt need to doubt. Thou mayeſt uſe us as keepers both of *Europe* and *Aſia*, for we ſhould joyn with *Bactria* but that *Tanais* doth divide us: and beyond *Tanais* our dominion ſtretcheth ſo farre as *Thracia*, and the ſame is, that *Thracia* confineth with *Macedon*. Conſider therefore whether it be neceſſary for thee or no, to have us as friends or foes to thine Empires.

Theſe were the Scythians words, to whom the King made anſwer:

That he would both uſe his own fortune, and their counſel that adviſed him well. He would follow his fortune (he ſaid) becauſe he had great confidence in it, and other mens counſell, becauſe he would do nothing unadviſedly nor upon the ſudden.

Thereupon he diſmiſſed the Embaſſadours, and imbarked his army in the boats he had prepared. In the foreparts of the boats he ſet ſuch as had Targets, willing them to kneel upon their knees for their more ſafegard againſt the ſhot of the arrows. And thoſe were placed behind them who had the charge of the Engines, being both before and on both ſides incloſed with armed men. The reſt that ſtood beyond the Engines, being armed themſelves defended with Targets ſuch as rowed. The ſame order was alſo obſerved in thoſe boats that carried over the horſemen. The greater part drew their horſes after them by the reins, ſwimming at the ſtern of the boats, and ſuch as were carried upon truſſes filled with ſtraw were defended by the boats that rowed betwixt them and their enemies.

Alexander with ſuch men as he had choſen to be about his perſon, firſt lanched from the land, and directed his courſe to the further ſide. The Scythians came againſt them with their horſemen in order of battel, ſtanding upon the brink of the further ſhore to oppoſe their landing: whoſe ſhew being a terrour to the Macedons, they had alſo another cauſe of fear in their paſſing over. For the boat-maſters were not able

able to keep their courſe againſt the force of the ſtream. And the ſouldiers ſwaying too and fro, for the doubt they had to fall in the water, troubled the Mariners in the doing of their office. By reaſon wherof the Macedons could not have ſcope to caſt their darts with any force, taking more care how to place themſelves out of peril, then to anoy their enemies. Their Engines ſtood them in great ſtead, which ſeldome did ſhoot in vain againſt their enemies that ſtood thick before them, attempting to reſiſt their landing. When the Scythians ſaw them near the ſhore, they did ſhoot an infinite number of arrows into the boats, ſo that there was not almoſt any target that had not many heads ſticking in it. At length the boats arrived at the land, then the target men did riſe upon their feet, and having more ſcope and ſurer footing, threw their darts more certainly and with greater force: whereby perceiving their enemis to ſhrink and rein back their horſes, they leaped chearfully unto the land, one exhorting and encouraging another, and vigorouſly purſued them, when they ſaw them to fall out of array. By that time *Alexanders* hotſemen who had aſſembled themſelves in troops, brake upon their enemies, and put them to great diſorder. In the mean ſeaſon the reſt being defended by them that were fighting, landed & prepared themſelves to the battel. *Alexander* with the ſtoutneſs of his courage ſupplied the impotency of his body. His voice could not be heard when he ſpake and exhorted his men (the ſear of his wound not yet cloſed) but all men might ſee him fighting; wherefore every one uſed the office of a Captain in giving exhortatiou unto his fellows, and ran upon their enemies without reſpect of their own lives. Then the Scythians could not endure any longer the countenance, the force, nor the cry of their enemies, but being all on horſeback fled away upon the ſpur, whom the King purſued 80 furlongs, notwithſtanding that with great pain he endured his infirmity. When his heart fainted, he commanded his men that they ſhould follow ſtill in the chaſe as long as the day laſted, and having not ſtrength to ſuſtain any further travel, he returned into his Camp to reſt himſelf.

The Macedons in their purſuit paſſed the bounds of *Bacchus*, in monument of whom there were great ſtones ſet up of equal diſtance, and high trees whoſe ſtocks were covered over with Ivy. But no bounds could be a ſtay to the Macedons, being carried forwards in their fury, for it was midnight before they returned again to their Camp, when having killed many, and taken a great number of

priſoners, did drive before them a thouſand eight hundred horſes. There were ſlain of the Macedons, threeſcore horſemen, of the footmen one hundred, and about one thouſand hurt. This enterpriſe with the fame of the victory falling in ſo good a ſeaſon kept the greateſt part of *Aſia* in obedience, which were at the point to have rebelled: For they beleeved the Scythians to be invincible, who being vanquiſhed, they judged no nation able to withſtand the power of the Macedons.

The Sacans after this victory ſent their Embaſſadours unto *Alexander*, offering themſelves to come under his obedience, to the doing whereof, they were not ſo greatly moved with fear of his force, as they were with report of his clemency uſed towards the Scythians, after he had diſcomfited them: For he delivered home all the priſoners without ranſome, to witneſs unto the world, that he made war with thoſe fierce Nations to ſhew his power and his vertue, and not for any malice, or to ſhew his wrath upon them. That was the cauſe that he ſo gently received the Embaſſadours of the Sacans, cauſing *Excipinus* to accompany them, who being in the firſt flower of his youth, was for that reſpect in great favour and familiarity with *Alexander*: In perſonage he reſembled *Epheſtion*, but inferiour to him in pleaſantneſs of ſpeech.

After this, *Alexander* giving order to *Craterus* to follow him by ſmall journeys with the greater part of his army, he himſelf came to the City of *Maracanda*, from whence *Spitamenes* who heard of his comming was fled into *Bactria*. The King therefore making great journeys four dayes continually came into the place where under the conduct of *Menedemus* he had loſt two thouſand footmen, and three thouſand horſemen. He cauſed their bones to be gathered together, celebrating their funerals after their Countrey manner. By that time *Craterus* with the Phalanx was come to the King, and to the intent he might puniſh with the ſword all ſuch as had rebelled, he divided his power into divers parts, commanding them to burn in every place where they marched, and to kill all the children.

The Countrey of the Sogdians for the moſt part is waſte, by reaſon of the great deſarts that ſtretch overthwart the Countrey. The River called *Politimetus* paſſeth almoſt through the length of it, and runneth a ſpace violently in a narrow channel, and then is received into a hole of the earth, from whence it paſſeth underneath the ground, the courſe of it being manifeſt by the noiſe of the water that may be heard;

heard; and yet on all the ground under which ſo great a River doth run, there doth not appear any moyſture put forth.

Of the Captives that were taken among the Sogdians, there were thirty of the moſt noble brought to *Alexander*, who underſtanding by an Interpreter, that by the Kings commandement they ſhould be put to execution, began as men in mirth to ſing and dance, and by a certain wanton motion of their bodies expreſſed a great joyfulneſs of the mind. *Alexander* marvelling that they took their death with ſuch ſtoutneſs and magnanimity of heart called them unto him, enquiring why they expreſſed ſo great a joy when they had death before their face? They anſwered, that if they had been put to death by any, except by ſuch a one as he was, they ſhould have taken their death ſorrowfully: But now ſeeing they ſhould be reſtored to their Predeceſſors by a King that was Conquerour of all Nations, they rejoyced in their honeſt death, as the thing that all men ſhould wiſh and deſire. The King then marvelling at their magnanimity, I enquire of you (quoth he) if you can be content to live, and become friends to him, by whoſe benefit you ſhall receive life? They ſaid, that as they never were his enemies, but as they were provoked by occaſion of the wars, even ſo if he would make an experiment of them rather by a benefit then an injury, they would labour not to be overcome in good will, nor in doing any thing that pertained to their duty. He asked what pledge they would give of their promiſe? They ſaid, their lives they had received ſhould be their pledges, ready to be yeelded again when it was required. Therein they brake no promiſe; for ſuch as returned home into their Countreys, kept the people in good obedience: And four of them that were appointed to be of the Kings Guard, gave place to none of the Macedons in love or affection towards their Prince.

When he had ordered all things among the Sogdians, he left *Peucolaus* there with three thouſand men of war, and removed into *Bactria*, from whence he commanded *Beſſus* to be carried to *Ecbatana*, there to ſuffer death for the killing of *Darius*. About the ſame time *Ptolomeus* and *Menidas* brought three thouſand footmen, and a thouſand horſemen of mercenary ſouldiers, and one *Alexander* came to him out of *Lycia* with three thouſand footmen, and five hundred horſemen. *Aſclepiodorus* had levied the like number out of *Syria*. *Antipater* ſent eight thouſand Greeks, amongſt whom there were

five

five hundred horſemen. When he had thus recruited his army, he went about in every place to quiet thoſe ſtirs that had been raiſed up by the rebellion, and having ſlain them that were the authors and beginners therof, the fourth day he came to the River of *Oxus*, which being a water unwholſome to be drunk (becauſe it is troubled and full of mud) the Macedons fell to digging of wells, and when by digging deep they could find no water, a Spring ſuddenly appeared in the Kings Tent, which becauſe it was not found at the firſt, they feigned it to come by miracle; Therewith the King was well pleaſed, and contented men ſhould beleeve that the ſame was ſent by the gift of God.

When he had paſſed the Rivers of *Ochus* and *Oxus*, they came unto a City called *Marginia*, near unto the which he choſe out places for the building of ſix Towns, whereof he planted two towards the South, and four towards the Eaſt, every one diſtant not far from another, to the intent that their mutual aſſiſtance in time of need ſhould not be far to ſeek. They were all ſcituate upon high hils, as bridles to keep under thoſe wild Nations: But now they have forgotten their original, and be ſubject to thoſe they were wont to rule.

The King having ſubdued all the country, one Rock only remained, which *Arimazes* a Sogdian had taken with thirty thouſand armed men, and furniſhed the ſame ſame with victuals for two years. The ſame Rock was thirty furlongs in height, and an hundred and fifty in compaſs, being in all parts ſteep and broken, having one ſtraight path onely to paſs up unto it. In the mid way to the top, it had a cave, which was narrow and dark in the entry, but by little and little it waxed wider, and had more large lodgings within for a great multitude, and was beſides ſo full of Springs, that when they met together, they ran down the Rock like a great River.

Alexander beholding the ſtrength of this place, and the difficulty to win it, determined to depart from thence: But there entred ſuddenly into his heart a deſire to weary Nature, and to work againſt her power. Yet before that he would attempt the fortune of any ſiege, he ſent *Cophes* the ſon of *Artabaſus*, to perſwade them to ſurrender it. *Arimazes* upon truſt of the ſtrength of the place, anſwered in all things arrogantly, but eſpecially in that hee asked if *Alexander* could flye? Which words being reported to the King, did put him in ſuch a fury, that ſtraightways he called for ſuch as he uſed to conſult withal, declaring the pride and preſumption of *Arimazes*, and after what manner he

had ſcorned him, But ſhortly (he ſaid) he would deviſe ſuch a policy, that he would make him think that the Macedons had wings. He commanded therefore that out of the whole Army they would chooſe out and bring to him three hundred of the moſt light young men who had been accuſtomed to drive beaſts amongſt the rocks, and ſtreight paths of the mountains, whereupon they brought ſuch to the King, as both for lightneſs of body, and hardineſs of heart were moſt meet for that purpoſe: unto whom he ſaid:

My fellows that be of mine own age, with you have I won Cities that were counted inexpugnable, and have paſſed the tops of mountains covered continually with ſnow. With you I have gone through the ſtreights of *Cilicia*, and have without wearineſs ſuſtained the violence of the cold, whereby I have experience of you, and you of me. The rock you ſee hath but one entry, which our enemies do obſerve, the reſt they neglect. They keep no watch but towards our Camp. If you diligently ſearch, you ſhall find ſome way to bring you to the top. Nature hath made nothing ſo high but that it may be attained to by the induſtry of man. In putting things in proof, whereof others have diſpaired, we have gotten *Aſia* into our poſſeſſion: contrive you the means to get up unto the top, which when you have taken you ſhall give a token to me by ſetting up ſome white cloath. You ſhall ſee me then come forwards with my power, and turn the enemies from you towards me. He ſhall have ten talents for a reward who doth recover the top firſt, and he that getteth up next ſhall have one leſs, and the like order ſhall be obſerved with ten of the firſt. I am aſſured you regard not ſo much my liberallity as my favour.

When they had heard the King ſpeak after that manner, they imagined the thing done, and departing out of his preſence, they prepared ſtrong ropes and iron hooks which they faſtened to the rocks, and ſo climbed up. The King brought them about the rock, whereas it ſeemed leaſt ſteep and moſt plain to mount upon, and in the ſecond watch willed them to paſs forwards with good ſpeed. They being furniſhed with two days victuals, and armed onely with ſwords and ſpears, at firſt went forwards without any great difficulty, but when they came to the ſteepneſs of the rock, ſome took hold of the broken crags to lift up themſelves, and ſome faſtening their hooks on the rocks, climbed up by the ropes. They were compelled to reſt and ſtay divers times, and ſo conſumed that day in travel and fear,

When they had paſſed many difficult places, further difficulties appeared, the height of the Rock ſeeming to grow more and more. When they failed either of their hold or of their footing, it was a miſerable thing to ſee how they fel down headlong, ſhewing by their miſfortune, an example to others what was likely to come of them. Notwithſtanding at length, through all theſe difficulties they got up unto the top, where wearied with the travel of their continual labour, and ſome with the hurts and maims they had received, they ſlept all that night amongſt the wild and rough Rocks, unmindfull of the peril they were in.

When it was day they awakened out of their deep ſleep, and beholding the valleys underneath them, they were ignorant in what part of the Rock ſo great a multitude of their enemies ſhould lie. But at length when they perceived by the ſmoke in what place they were, they upon the points of two ſpears ſet up the ſign that was appointed them, and found that in their comming up they had loſt two and thirty. The King being carefull not ſo much for the deſire he had to win the Rock, as to ſave thoſe whom he had expoſed to ſo manifeſt a danger, ſtood all day beholding the top of the Mountain, and when the darkneſs of the night took away the proſpect of the eyes, he departed to refreſh his body. The next day before it was full light, he perceived the white cloth ſet up on the top of the Rock, but the variety of the air, the ſun beginning to ariſe, and yet clouded, cauſed him to doubt a while whether his ſight had failed him or not. But when it was full and open day, it was manifeſtly apparent, and all doubt was removed. Then he called *Cophes*, by whom he had attempted their minds before, willing him once again to exhort them to be better adviſed, and if ſo be that in the truſt of their ſtrength, they would not ſubmit themſelves, that then he ſhould ſhew to them thoſe ſouldiers that had taken the Rock over their heads. When *Cophes* came thither, he began to perſwade *Arimazes* to give up his ſtrength, thereby to win the Kings favour, and not enforce *Alexander* to ſtay in the ſiege of a Rock, having ſo many weighty affairs in hand: But he found him more obſtinate and proud then he did before, and willed *Cophes* to depart, and move him no more on that ſubject. Then he took *Arimazes* by the hand, and required him to go with him out of the Cave: When they were come where they might look about, he ſhewed him thoſe that were gotten to the top of the Rock, and ſcorning then his pride, he asked of him whether *Alexanders* ſouldiers had gotten wings or no?

By

By that time the trumpets were blown in the Macedons Camp, and they might hear the alarum that was made in the army which, as many vain and trifling things are wont in the wars to grow to great effect, ſo it was the cauſe that they yeelded themſelves, for fear ſo troubled them, that they could not conſider the ſmall number that were over their heads, but called *Cophes* again in great haſt, who was departed away, and ſent with him unto *Alexander* thirty of the chief men, authorized to yeeld up the rock, with compoſition to depart in ſafety.

But *Alexander* notwithſtanding that he doubted leaſt his enemies diſcovering the fewneſs of his men, might put them to diſtreſs yet truſting in the felicity of his own fortune, and offended with the pride of *Arimazes*, would agree to no condition, but that they ſhould yeeld ſimply, *Arimazes* thereupon diſpairing more of his eſtate, then he had cauſe, deſcended down to the Camp with the chiefeſt of the nation that were of kin to him. All whom *Alexander* cauſed to be ſcourged with rods, and be then to crucified at the foot of the rock. The multitude that yeelded with the money that there was taken, were given in gift to the inhabitants of the new Cities, and the rule of the ſaid rock was committed unto *Artabſus*, with the charge of the country thereabouts.

Inhuman Wretch

The Eighth Book of

QUINTUS CURTIUS

OF

The Acts of *Alexander* The Great, King of *Macedon.*

ALexander having won this Rock with greater fame then glory, becauſe his enemies remained in no place certain, it was neceſſary for him to ſeparate his power, and ſo he divided his Army into three parts. He gave the charge of the one part to *Epheſtion*, to *Cenon* the other, and took the third part unto himſelf. His enemies were not all of one opinion, for ſome of them ſeeing their oppoſition could not avail, yeelded themſelves before the fight, to whom he gave the Cities and the Lands of thoſe that continued ſtill his enemies.

But the Outlaries of *Bactria* with eight hundred horſemen waſted the Villages of the *Maſſagetes*. For the redreſs whereof, *Attinas* Governour of that Countrey, went againſt them with three hundred horſemen, not knowing that his enemies lay in wait for him, who planting their ambuſhment in a wood joyning to a great plain, had appointed ſome men to drive cattel, thereby to draw their enemies with the greedineſs of the Prey within danger of the Ambuſh. When the ſouldiers of *Attinas* ſaw the drivers of the cattel, they purſued them without order ſo that when they were paſſed the wood where the ambuſhment lay, their enemies brake out upon them (not fearing any ſuch danger) and ſlew them every one.

The fame of this overthrow came immediately to *Craterus*, who drew thither with the Horſemen; But the Maſſagetes being fled before

before his comming, he ſlew a thouſand of the Dahans that took their part, whereby the rebellion of all the Countrey ceaſed. Thus *Alexander* having ſubdued the Sogdians, returned to *Maracanda*, whether *Berdes* (whom he had ſent to the Scythians inhabiting about *Boſphorus*) came to him with Embaſſadors of that Countrey. *Phrataphernes* alſo, who had the chief rule of the Maſſagetes and Dahans (which Nations were joyned by affinity together) ſent certain meſſengers to *Alexander*, offering to be at his commandement. The Scythian Embaſſadours made requeſt that *Alexander* would marry their Kings daughter, and if the affinity pleaſed him, that he would ſuffer the Princes of the Macedons to enter into marriage likewiſe with the noble mens daughters of their countrey, promiſing that the King ſhould come in perſon to viſit him. He heard gently both the Embaſſages, and ſtill continued in that place, till *Epheſtion* and *Artabaſus* came unto him, and then joyning his power again together, he advanced into the Countrey that is called *Baxaria*. There is nothing more eſteemed in that Nation, then to have great droves of wild beaſts incloſed in Parks which are very pleaſant and full of ſprings. Thoſe Parks be incloſed in walls, and Towers builded within them to be Lodges for the Hunters. There was one Park in that Countrey that had remained unhunted during the time of four mens ages, into which *Alexander* entered with his whole Army, chaſing the wild beaſts in every quarter, Amongſt the reſt, there was a Lion of a vaſt bulk that came running towards *Alexander*, which when *Lyſimachus* (who afterwards was King, ſtanding next to *Alexander*) perceived, he ſtepped before him to receive the Lion with his hunting ſpear: But *Alexander* pulled him back, and willed him to withdraw, ſaying, that he was able to kill a Lion as well as *Lyſimachus*: For you are to underſtand, that this *Lyſimachus* on a time hunting in *Syria* killed by himſelf alone an huge Lion, but yet he was torn to the very bones under the left ſhoulder, and put in great danger of his life, which being that which *Alexander* meant, he performed with his ſword no leſs then he promiſed, for he did not onely receive the Lion, but killed him with one ſtroke: Thereupon the fable did riſe, how *Alexander* ſhould have caſt *Lyſimachus* to a Lion.

But though *Alexander* his chance was good herein, yet the Macedons knew that by the cuſtome of his Countrey he ſhould not have hunted on foote without the chiefeſt of his Nobility and

friends about him. He killed within that Park four thouſand wild beaſts and there did feaſt his Army, returning afterwards to *Maracanda*.

Artabaſus there excuſing himſelf by his age, that he was unapt for the rule of that Countrey, *Alexander* committed the ſame to *Clitus*, being the man that defended him with his Target, when he was fighting bare-headed at the River of *Granike*, and there cut off *Rhoſaceris* hand, that was in a readineſs to ſtrike the King. He was an old ſouldier of *Philip* his father; and notable by many feats of war that he had done. *Hellanice* his ſiſter was *Alexander's* nurſe, whom he loved no leſs then his own mother. For theſe cauſes he committed the ſtrongeſt part of his Empire to his fidelity. The King that purpoſed to ſet forward his journey the next day, made the ſame night a ſolemn Banquet, wherein (being too great a boaſter of himſelf) when he was hot with wine, he began to ſet forth the acts that he had done, in ſuch ſort that his words offended the ears of ſuch as knew them to be true.

The ancient men kept ſilence untill ſuch time as he began to deface the acts of *Philip* his father, vaunting the notable victory of *Cheroneſe* to be his own deed, the glory whereof (he ſaid) was taken from him by the malice and envy of his father; For he alledged how in the mutiny which roſe between the Macedons and the Greek ſouldiers, when *Philip* lay hurt of a wound which he received at a fray and thought he could bee no otherwiſe ſecure then to counterfeit himſelf to be dead, he defended his body with his Buckler, and ſlew them with his own hand who ran upon his father to have killed him, which act (he ſaid) his father never gladly would confeſs, nor ever could abide to acknowledge his ſafegard to come by his ſon. He alſo declared, how after the journey he made by himſelf into *Illyria*, in writing unto his father, he did aſcribe the victory unto himſelf, when he overthrew his enemies when he was away. He ſaid that in his opinion it deſerved but ſmall commendations to make a journey into *Samothracia*, when *Aſia* ought to have been ſpoiled and burnt. Nor he thought no man worthy of praiſe indeed, but ſuch as do ſo great acts, as may exceed all mens credit.

The young men that were preſent were glad to hear theſe words, and ſuch other like, but they were ungratefull to the ancient, eſpecially for *Philip* ſake under whom they had long ſerved. Then

Clitus

Clitus who in the like caſe was not very ſober, turned to ſuch as were beneath him, rehearſing ſome verſes of *Euripides*, whereof the K. might rather hear the ſound than the words. The effect of them was, that the Greeks did evill, who in the monuments of their victories did ſubſcribe onely the names of their Kings who uſurped that glory unto themſelves which other men did win by ſhedding of their own bloud. *Alexander* therefore judging his words to have been worſe than they were, inquired of ſuch as were next him what *Clitus* ſaid. But when they kept ſilence, *Clitus* with a louder voice rehearſed in order *Philips* acts, and the wars he made in *Greece*, preferring them before any acts done ſince that time: whereupon there did riſe a confuſion between the young men and the old. But the King inforcing a patience himſelf, when he heard *Clitus* deface his praiſe, conceived a wonderfull wrath in his mind. Yet it ſeemed that he would have brideled his paſſion, if *Clitus* would have made an end of his preſumptious talk. But when he would not ceaſe, he gave occaſion to *Alexander* to be further moved.

Clitus then did proceed ſo far forth, that he durſt defend *Parmenio* his caſe, and preferred the victory that *Philip* won of the Athenians before the deſtruction of *Thebes*. And going further and further, not onely through drunkenneſs, but even by a frowardneſs of a contentious mind, at length he ſaid:

If we muſt die for thee, *Clitus* is not the firſt, for they receive greater rewards of thy victory, that can moſt ſhamefully deface thy fathers memory. The Countrey of the Sogdians is given unto me, that hath ſo often rebelled, and now is not onely unſubdued, but ſuch a one as by no means can be brought to ſubjection. I am placed amongſt thoſe wild beaſts that be of ſo uncivill a diſpoſition. But I could paſs over things pertaining unto my ſelf: if the ſouldiers of *Philip* were not deſpiſed, forgetting that if the old *Atharias* had not turned again the young men, when they gave over the fight, we had yet ſticked about *Alicarnazus*; How is it then that *Aſia* is conquered with theſe young men: but I ſee it is true what your Uncle ſaid in *Italy*; he chanced upon men, and you upon women.

There was nothing that *Clitus* ſpake or did in his raſhneſs, that moved more the King then the honourable mention made of *Parmenio*: yet for all that he concealed his grief, and did no more but command him to avoid out of the place, and ſpake no other words, ſaving

ſaving that he ſaid: if thou talkeſt a little longer, I think thou wilt upbraid me with the ſaving of his life, whereof in very deed he would often advance himſelf. But notwithſtanding that the King had willed him to depart, yet tarried he ſtill, and would not riſe: and therefore ſuch as ſate next him, took him by the arms and led him away, blaming him, and giving him exhortation, to uſe better words. When *Clitus* ſaw himſelf drawn forth againſt his will, anger was added to his drunkenneſs, and he then declared aloud that it was he who with his breaſt defended the Kings back, but now when the good ſervice was paſt, the very memory of the benefit was hated: and therewith he laid to his charge the death of *Attalus*, and how he mocked the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whom *Alexander* claimed to be his father, and ſaid that he told him better truth then his father did.

At thoſe words the King was ſtirred unto ſo much paſſion, as he could ſcarcely have born being ſober. But having his ſences overcome with drink, he roſe ſuddenly from the table. His friends were amazed, and throwing down the cups for haſt, roſe to expect the end of what they ſaw him go about: in ſo much fury. He took a ſpear out of the hand of one of his guard, and would have ſtricken *Clitus*, as yet raging with the intemperance of his tongue, but he was ſtopped by *Ptolomeus* and *Perdicas*, who took him in their arms, and ſtayed him for all his ſtriving: and *Liſimachus* and *Leonatus* took away the ſpear. Then he called out to his guard for aid, crying out that he was taken by his next friends, as *Darius* was of late, and willed the trumpet to be blown, that the armed men might aſſemble unto the Court. Then *Perdicas* and *Ptolomeus* fell down upon their knees, requiring him that he would not perſevere in his wrath, which he ſo ſuddenly had conceived, but rather reſpite his diſpleaſure, ſeeing that he might the next day much better order the buſineſs. But his wrath prevailed ſo much, that his ears were ſhut up from all counſel, and he ran in a fury amongſt his guard, plucking a ſpear out of one of their hands, which once got, he ſtood in the entry, through the which they muſt needs paſs that ſupped with him.

When all the reſt were come forth, *Clitus* came forth without light, And becauſe *Alexander* could not diſcern him, he asked who he was? but that was done ſo terribly, that the cruelty of the act he went about, appeared in his voice. But *Clitus* ſeeing the King in a fury, had no reſpect how much he had offended him before, but made anſwer that he was

Clitus

Clitus, who was comming from the Kings banquet. With that word he ſtrake him through the body, ſo that he fell down ſtark dead, and *Alexander* was all beſprinkled with his bloud. Go now (quoth he) to *Philip*, *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*. Herein it may be ſeen, that nature provided exill in the diſpoſition of man, who for the moſt part, cannot conſider ſo well things to come, as thoſe that be paſt. For after that *Alexanders* ire was aſſwaged, and his drunkenneſs paſt, weighing adviſedly the foulneſs of the act he had done, he conſidered then, that though *Clitus* had uſed over much liberty in his talk, yet he ought not to have ſlain ſo noble a man of war, yea and the ſaver of his own life, though he was aſhamed to confeſs it. He ſaw that he being a King had uſed the deteſtable office of an executioner, in revenging with wicked ſlaughter the liberty of words, which might have been imputed unto wine. When he beheld the bloud of him whom a little before he had bidden to his banquet to run over all the entry, and that the Guard were ſo aſtonied and amazed, that they ſtood a far off, and durſt not come near, his ſolitarineſs cauſed his repentance to be the greater. Then he plucked the ſpear out of the dead corps and would have thruſt it into his own body, if the guard had not come and with great ſtriving wrung the ſame out of his hands. That done, they took him up, and carried him into his lodging, where he fell down flat upon the ground, filling all the Court full of the terrible noiſe of his lamentation. He tare his face with his nails, and required ſuch as were about him, that they would not ſuffer him to live in ſuch a ſhame and diſhonour. In theſe requeſts he conſumed the whole night, and cauſed a diligent ſearch to be made whether it were the anger of the Gods or no, that had cauſed him to commit ſo hainous an act. At length it was found that the yearly ſacrifice due unto *Bacchus* was not celebrated in the fit time; and therefore it appeared manifeſtly, that it ſhould be the wrath of the Gods that had moved him to commit murther upon eating and drinking. But the greateſt thing that increaſed his ſorrow was the amazement of his friends, when he ſaw them ſhrink from him, and that none of them after that deed, would gladly uſe ſuch familiar communication as they did before. Then he perceived that he ſhould live as a wild beaſt in a deſart, both frighting others, being alſo afraid himſelf. The next morning he commanded the body bloudy as it was to bee brought into his chamber, which when he ſaw lying before him, he fell on weeping, and ſaid.

Shall I thus requite my Nurſe, whoſe two ſons were ſlain for my ſake at *Miletum*, by the killing of her brother (that was her onely joy) at mine own boord? What refuge ſhall that wretched woman have? I was all the comfort that did remain to her, and now ſhe ſhall never with joy behold me. Shall I the wicked killer of my preſervers, return into my countrey, when I ſhall not be able to preſent my hand unto my Nurſe, without the remembrance of her miſery, and my ſhame?

When he could put no end to theſe complaints, the body was taken away by the appointment of his friends. After he had ſtayed three dayes ſhut up in his chamber, ſorrowing after this manner, the Squires and ſuch as had the keeping of his perſon, ſeeing him given obſtinately to death, brake into his lodging, and with great pain brought him (though he long withſtood their prayers) to take at length ſome relief and ſuſtenance; and to the intent he ſhould be the leſſe aſhamed of *Clitus* death, the Macedons decreed that he was lawfully killed, and would not ſuffer him to be buried, but that the King commanded it.

Having conſumed ten dayes at *Maracanda*, ſpecially to confirm the greif he had conceived at *Clitus* death, he ſent *Epheſtion* with part of his Army into *Bactria* to provide victuals againſt winter, and committed the ſame Province unto *Amintas*, which before he had given to *Clitus*. From thence he marched into a Countrey called *Zeripa*, that confineth on the Scythians, which being well inhabited, and full of Villages, doth with the plentifulneſs thereof not onely detain the inhabitants to dwell there ſtill, but alſo inviteth ſtrangers to come amongſt them. The ſame was a refuge to the Outlaws of *Bactria*, that ſtill rebelled: But after *Alexanders* comming was known, they were driven forth by the Countrey men, and two thouſand and two hundred of their horſemen (which were accuſtomed to live by Theft and Spoil in time of peace, made worſe not onely by the war, but alſo by deſpair of forgiveneſs, and their wild diſpoſitions) did give an onſet ſuddenly upon *Amintas*, who was *Darius* Lievtenant. The battel was long doubtfull betwixt them, but finally they loſt ſeven hundred of their number, whereof three hundred were taken priſoners, and turned their backs to the victorers, not without revenge, for they ſlew of them fourſcore, beſides three hundred and fifty that they wounded, and yet notwithſtanding after this ſecond rebellion they obtained pardon.

pardon. When *Alexander* had brought them to his obedience, he came with his whole army into a Countrey called *Nauta*, the Lord whereof was called *Sisimethres*, who had two ſons by his own mother; it being lawfull there for the parents to have the carnal knowledge of their children.

The ſame *Sisimethres* with two thouſand armed men fortified and kept the ſtraight at the entry of the Countrey, where it was moſt narrow. The paſſage was defended both with a River and a Rock, through the which Rock the way was made by force of hands; The light is received in at the entry, but further inward there is none, but onely ſuch as men bring with them. From this Rock there goeth a Vault underneath the ground, that hath iſſue into the fields, which be not known but to ſuch as are of the ſame Countrey. Though this ſtraight was naturally ſtrong, and defended beſides by a ſtrong power, it withheld not *Alexander* to attempt it, who brought Engines which they call *Arietes* to beate downe their fortification, and with ſlings and ſhot of arrows, did force his enemies from the places of their defence.

When he had driven them away, he paſſed through the works he had won, and made approach to the Rock, but the ſtream that grew out of the force of united waters falling from the mountain, was an impediment to him therein. It ſeemed a wonderfull work to fill the chanel of the River, yet he cauſed trees and ſtones to be brought to the place. When his enemies, that never had ſeen any ſuch thing before, beheld the work ſuddenly to riſe like a mountain, they were put into a marvellous fear, by which the King ſuppoſing they might have been brought to render it up, ſent one *Oxiartes* of the ſame Nation to perſwade *Sisimethres* to render the Rock, and in the mean ſeaſon to put them in more terrour, he cauſed Towers of wood to be brought forwards, & did ſhoot from the Engins with ſuch violence out of the ſame, that the enemies forſaking all other ſtrengths, retired into the top of the Rock. *Oxiartes* finding *Sisimethres* in this fear, perſwaded him rather to prove *Alexanders* benevolence then his power, and ſeeing that all creatures ſubmitted to him, that he alone ſhould not be his hinderance, marching now with his victorious army into *India*, whereby he ſhould turn other mens plagues upon his own neck. *Sisimethres* would have been contented to follow his adviſe, but that ſhe who was both his mother and his wife, affirmed how ſhe would rather die, then commit her ſelf into

any mans hand: and therefore he being ashamed that the love of liberty should remain more in a woman then in him being a man, he altered his purpose, taking that way which was more honest then sure, and dismissing him that was the mediator for peace, he determined utterly to abide the extremity of the siege. Yet when he had wel weighed his enemies power and his own together, he began again to repent him of his wives counsel, it being more rash then profitable, and made sute that *Oxiartes* would return, proffering then to commit himself to the Kings will, onely requiring of *Oxiartes* that he would not utter his wives opinion, for fear left that she should not obtain her pardon. He sent therefore *Oxiartes* before, and he came after with his wife, his children, and all his kinsfolk, without tarrying for any assurance promised to him by *Oxiartes*. *Alexander* hearing of their approach, sent his horsemen before to cause them to stay and to tarry for his comming, and when he was come to the place where they did abide, he offered sacrifice to *Minerva* and *Victoria*, restoring unto *Sisimethres* his former rule and authority, putting him in hope of a greater country, if he would faithfully continue his friendship, and took his two sons presented to him by the father, to serve him in his wars.

Alexander left his footmen to subdue such as had not yet yeelded, and went forwards with his horsemen into other parts. The way was craggie and difficult, which at first they endured indifferently, but afterwards, when their horse hooves were torn, and they utterly foundred, many were not able to follow, but rode dispersed and out of order, the wearines of their travel so much overcame shame. The King notwithstanding changed often his horse, and pursued without intermission his enemies that fled before him by reason whereof, all the noble young men that were wont to accompany him, were left behind, saving onely *Philip*, *Lysimachus* brother, who then being in the flower of his youth, and of great likelihood to become an excellent man, followed on foot the King that did ride on horseback by the space of fifty furlongs: *Lysimachus* divers times for all that proffered him his horse, but in no wise he would depart from the King, notwithstanding that he had his Corslet on, and all his armour.

When the King passed through the wood where his enemies lay in ambushment he fought notably, and protected the Kings person fighting with his enemies: But after they were put to flight, and driven out of the woods, the greatnesse of his courage which had sustained

him

him in the heat of the fight fainted with his body, and being all on a ſweat he leaned himſelf to a Tree, which could not ſo much ſtay him but that he fell to the earth, and being taken up again by the Kings hands he immediately after did ſhrink down and died. The King being ſorrowfull for his death, received ſome other intelligence no leſs to be lamented; For before he came to his Camp, he was advertiſed of the death of *Erigius*, one of the moſt noble of his Captains, whoſe Funerals were celebrated with great pomp and ceremonies of honour.

From thence he determined to go unto the Dahans, where he underſtood that *Spitamenes* was. But Fortune that never ceaſed to favour him did unexpectedly finiſh that journey of his, as ſhe did many others. *Spitamenes* was enflamed with an exceſſive love to his wife, whom he carried with him in all his hazards and adventures. But ſhe that could not well endure flying, nor to change place like an Outlaw, became ſo weary of travel, that by flattery and fair means ſhe entiſed her Husband to leave his flight, and go about (ſeeing he ſaw no ways to eſcape) to procure *Alexanders* favour, of whoſe clemency (ſhe ſaid) he had ſeen ſo great experience. And to move him the more on that ſubject, ſhe brought before him the children begot betwixt them, making requeſt that at the leaſt he would take pity on them, wherein ſhe thought her prayer would be the more effectuall, becauſe *Alexander* was ſo near at hand. But *Spitamenes* conceiving that ſhe did not do this by way of counſel, but of purpoſe to betray him, and that ſhe deſired to ſubmit her ſelf to *Alexander* in confidence of her beauty, drew forth his ſword with an intent to have killed her, if he had not been withheld by his brethren. When they would not ſuffer him to hurt her, he comanded her to avoid his ſight, threatning to kill her if ſhe came again into his preſence, and to mitigate his love towards her, he conſumed that night amongſt his Concubines. but his love that was ſo deeply grounded ceaſed not, but thereby rather kindled the more toward his wife. Wherefore he reconciled himſelf again unto her making his continual requeſt that ſhe would not counſel or move him any more on that ſubject, but be content with ſuch chances as fortune would ſend him; for he eſteemed death lighter then to yeeld himſelf. She purged her ſelf of the former perſwaſion, which appeared to her (ſhe ſaid) to have been good, and though it were out of a womans frailty, yet it proceeded of a faithfull meaning, and from thenceforth ſhe ſaid ſhe was contented to do as it ſhould pleaſe him.

Spitamenes

Spitamenes overcome with her counterfeit affection made a great feaſt, and after much eating and drinking, became drowſie, and was carried into his chamber. When his wife perceived him to be in a deep ſleep, ſhe pulled out a ſword, which ſhe had kept ſecretly for that purpoſe, and cut off his head, delivering the ſame, being ſprinkled with bloud, unto her ſervant that was privy to the fact, and with him onely as ſhe was imbrued with the bloud, ſhe came unto the Macedons Camp, willing it to be ſignified to *Alexander*, that there was one come, who had ſomething of importance to communicate unto him. He by and by gave commandement ſhe ſhould enter, but when he perceived her defiled with bloud (thinking that ſhe had come to lament ſome injury done unto her) he willed her to declare what ſhe would have. She deſired that her ſervant might come in, from underneath whoſe garment ſhe took *Spitamenes* head, and preſented it unto *Alexander*.

The paleneſſe of the face wanting bloud, had taken away the knowledge whoſe face it was, but when the King perceived it to be a mans head, he departed forth of the Tent, and by inquiry underſtood the matter. This brought him into great perplexity, and he was driven by divers imaginations into ſundry opinions, he judged the killing of ſuch a one (being a fugitive and a rebell) to be a great benefit unto him, who living might have been a great impediment to his proceedings. But on the other ſide conſidering the horribleneſs of the deed, that ſhe ſhould kill him by treaſon who loved her ſo entirely, and by whom ſhe had many children, the violence of the act overcame the thanks of benefit, and ſhe was commanded to depart the Camp, leaſt the example of ſuch licencioufneſs might corrupt the manners and civill diſpoſitions of the Greeks.

When the Dahans underſtood of *Spitamenes* death, they brought *Dataphernes* bound, this was he who was partner with him in his conſpiracy, and yeelded themſelves unto *Alexander*. He being delivered from the greateſt part of his preſent fear, determined to revenge the injuries of them who had been miſuſed by the pride and covetouſneſs of his Deputies and Officers. Therefore he committed *Hircania* with the Cardons and Tapirions to *Pratapherues*, to whom he gave in commiſſion to ſend *Phradates* his predeceſſour to him as a priſoner. *Tamſonor* was ſubſtituted ruler of *Caria* in the place of *Arſamus*. *Arſaces* was ſent into *Media*, to the intent that *Oxidates* ſhould remove from thence

thence. And *Babilon* upon the death of *Mazeus*, was comitted to *Deditamenes*.

When he had ordained these things, the third moneth he drew his army out of their winter lodgings, to go to a countrey that was called *Gabaza*. The first days journey was quiet, and the next not very tempestuous, yet darker then had been accustomed, but not without some signification of their calamities that were comming. The third day, the element was full of lightning, and when the lightening ceased, it was very dark, the beholding thereof did much amaze the souldiers, and did put them into a great fear. It thundred in a manner continually, and the lightning fell in strange similitudes, so that the army stood astonied, and durst neither go forwards, nor remain still in one place. Then there came suddenly a shower of hail driving like a tempest which at the first they defended by the coverture of their armour, but shortly after their hands were so could & wet, that they could not hold their weapons, nor yet devise which way to turn themselves, finding always where they turned their faces, more violence of the Tempest then before. Every man therefore broke his array wandring about the woods and many that were wearied by fear rather then by travell, lay downe upon the ground, notwithstanding that the force of the cold had converted the shower into a frost. The trees against which they leaned were a great safety and help to many. And yet they were not ignorant when they rested that they chose themselves a place of death, for when they left to move their bodies, the naturall heat left them: but ease was so pleasant to such as were wearied, that they refused not to die in resting of themselves. Their affliction was not onely vehement for the the time but also continued very long, to the increase whereof, the light which is a naturall comfort unto men (through the darkness of the shower, and the shadow of the wood) was so taken away that it appeared as if it had been night.

The King onely was able to endure this mischief, who ceased not to go about the army, drawing the souldiers together when they were dispersed, lifting them up that lay upon the ground, and to encourage them, he shewed them the smoak that arose a far off from the Cottages, whither he exhorted them to draw for succour. There was not any thing more effectuall to their safety, then that whiles they were ashamed to leave their Prince, whom they saw to endure this mischiefe, they chafed themselves with their utmost labour. But necessity (which

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in adverſe fortune is of more force then any reaſon) found out a remedy for this cold. They fell to cutting down the wood, making every where piles and ſtacks thereof, and ſet them on fire. Then a man would have judged that the whole wood had been on a flame, for there was ſcarcely ſpace left betwixt the fires for men to ſtand. Then their nummed joynts began to be moved with the heat, and their ſpirits which were oppreſſed by the force of the cold began to have their free recourſe ſome recovered the cottages, which neceſſity cauſed them to ſeek out in the uttermoſt part of the wood, and the reſt recovered the Camp, which was planted in a moiſt ground; but by that time the ſhower was ceaſed, the Tempeſt had conſumed one thouſand ſouldiers with varlets and ſlaves. It is ſaid that divers were frozen to death, leaning againſt trees, and yet ſeemed as though they had been living and ſpeaking together.

It chanced that a common ſouldier of the Macedons, who had much pain to go and carry his armor came at laſt into the Camp where the King was: who notwithſtanding that he was chafing of his own body againſt the fire, yet he did riſe out of his chair and pulling off the nummed ſouldiers armour who was almoſt paſt his remembrance, he ſet him down in his ſeat. He a great while knew not where he ſate, or who had received him: but at length when his natural heat came to him, and he perceived it to be his Kings ſeat, and the King to be there preſent, he was afraid, and did ſtart up again. But *Alexander* beheld him in the face, and ſaid:

Perceiveſt thou not now my ſouldier, with how much better condition thou liveſt, then the Perſians do under their Kings? for it is death for them to ſit in the Kings ſeat, and the ſame hath been the ſafeguard of thy life.

The next day he called his friends, and the Captains of his army together, promiſing to reſtore to them whatſoever they had loſt: wherein he performed his promiſe: for *Siſimethres* bringing unto him many beaſts of burthen with 2000 Camels, and a great number of ſheep and Oxen, he diſtributed all amongſt the ſouldiers, wherein he both reſtored to them their loſs, and alſo delivered them from their hunger. The King gave great thanks unto *Siſimethres*, and commanding his ſouldiers to carry ſix days victuals ready dreſſed, he marched againſt the Sacans, where he deſtroyed all their Countrey, and of the booty there taken, he gave thirty thouſand ſheep in gift to *Siſimethres*. From thence

thence he came unto a countrey belonging unto a noble Prince called *Cohortanus*, who ſubjected himſelf unto the King, and he again reſtored his Countrey to him, exacting nothing of his, but, that of his three ſons he ſhould ſend two of them to ſerve him in his wars. But *Cohortanus* offered to him all three, and made a feaſt unto *Alexander*, with ſuch ſumptuouſneſs as belonged to the manner of their Countrey, therein all the pleaſures being ſhewed that could be deviſed. Thirty Virgins of the noble mens children were brought in before *Alexander*, amongſt whom there was *Cohortanus* daughter called *Roxane*, who in beauty and excellency of perſonage, and comlineſs of apparel (rare amongſt thoſe nations) excelled all the reſt. And notwithſtanding that they were all of excellent beauty with whom ſhe was accompanied, yet ſhe drew all mens eyes towards her, and eſpecially the Kings, who could not well now govern his affections in ſuch proſperity of fortune, it being an infirmity which the frailty of man ſeldom can avoid. Thus he who beheld the wife of *Darius* and her two daughters (to whom *Roxane* was not comparable) with no other deſires then he might have beheld his mother, was then ſo overcome with the love of a young virgin, being but of mean Parentage, if ſhe ſhould be compared to the bloud of Kings, that he affirmed it to be a thing neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of the Empire for the Perſians and Macedons to marry together, by which onely means ſhame might be taken from the vanquiſhed, and pride from the Conquerours. He alſo ſhewed a Preſident how *Achilles* (from whom he was deſcended) joyned himſelf with a captive. And leaſt his doings ſhould be counted laſciv'ouſneſs, he reſolved to take her to him by the way of marriage. The father joyfull of this which he looked not for, gladly confirmed the Kings words, who in the heat of his deſire, cauſed bread to be brought forth according to the cuſtome of his countrey, the ſame being the moſt religious ceremony of martiage amongſt the Macedons: this bread was cut aſunder with a ſword, and each of them made of it a ſacrifice. It is to be thought, that ſuch as eſtabliſhed the cuſtomes of that nation, covered by a moderate diet to ſhew to them that were the gatherers of great riches, with how ſmall a thing they ought to content themſelves. Thus he who was both King of *Aſia* and *Europe*, joyned himſelf in marriage with a maid brought in at a mask, to beget upon a captive one that ſhould reign over the victorious Macedons. His friends were aſhamed that hee ſhould chooſe, upon drink, a father in

in law among them whom hee had lately ſubdued. But after *Clitus* death all the liberty and freedome of ſpeech being taken away, they ſeemed to agree with their countenances, as with the moſt apt inſtrument to declare the conſent of their minds.

After this was done, he prepared his journey towards *India*, purpoſing to viſit the Ocean Sea: And becauſe he would leave nothing behind him that might be an impediment to his expedition, he took order for thirty thouſand young men to be levied out of all the Provinces, and to be brought to him armed, minding to uſe them both as pledges and as ſouldiers. He ſent *Craterus* to purſue *Hanſtanes* and *Catenes*, of whom the one was taken and the other ſlain. *Polipercon* alſo ſubdued the Countrey that was called *Bubacen*, and having ſet all things in order, he ſet his whole imagination upon the war of *India*, which was counted to be a very rich countrey, and to abound both with gold, pearls, and precious ſtones, things appertaining as much to voluptuouſneſs as magnificence, and it was ſaid that the ſouldiers there had their targets made of Ivory, and of Gold: And therfore leſt he who thought himſelf to excel the reſt, ſhould be ſurpaſſed in any point, he cauſed his ſouldiers to garniſh their Targets with plates of Silver, & the horſemen to beautifie their Bridles with Gold and Silver. There were one hundred and twenty thouſand armed men that followed *Alexander* in the war.

When all things were ripe for what he long before had conceived in his evil diſpoſed mind, he thought it time to compaſs how he might uſurp the name and honour of a God, and ſo willed himſelf not onely to be called, but alſo to be beleeved to be the ſon of *Jupiter*, as though his power had been as well to reſtrain mens thoughts as their tongues. His intent was, that the Macedons ſhould fall proſtrate on the ground, and worſhip him after the ſame manner that the Perſians did their Kings; and to ſuch his deſire, there wanted not pernicious flattery, the perpetual poyſon of Princes, whoſe eſtates have more often been overcome by flattery then by any force of enemies. The Macedons were not in blame of this, for none of them ſuffered gladly their countrey cuſtomes to be ſubverted; but it was the fault of the Greeks, who with their ſordid conditions, corrupted the profeſſion of honeſt Sciences.

There was one *Hagis* of *Argos*, as evil a Poet as was ſince *Cherilus* days, and another called *Cleo*, a Sicilian, given to flattery both by his nature

ture and by the custome of his country. These with some other of the dregs and refuse of their Countreys (whom *Alexander* reputed more then any of his Captains and Kinsmen) would make it appear to the world that heaven lay open for *Alexander*, and sticked not openly to pronounce, that both *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, *Castor* and *Pollux* should all give place to his new Godhead. For the bringing of those things to pass, the King commanded upon a solemn day a feast to be prepared with great pomp, inviting thereunto all the great Lords and Gentlemen both of the Macedons and the Greeks, with whom when he had sate and eaten a while, he departed out of the feast.

Then *Cleo*, as was before determined, made a Speech in the praise and admiration of the Kings vertues, rehearsing his exceeding benefits towards them all, which to requite he said there was but one way, and that was, if they would acknowledge him a God whom they knew to be one. For is it a small thing (quoth he) to recompence such great benefits towards you with the expence of a little Frankincense? He shewed the Persians custome to be both religious, and wise, in worshipping their Kings as Gods, thinking their defence and safeguard to consist in the Majesty of their Prince. He said, that *Hercules* and *Bacchus* were Deified, when they had once overcome the envy of such as lived in their time, and men that come after do easily beleeve such things as have been confirmed by their Predecessors. If any of you (quoth he) will stick at this matter, ye shall see me the first that at the Kings comming in shall fall down upon the earth, and worship him, which president other men ought to follow, and especially the men of most wisedome, that should always be examples to others in doing their duties towards their Prince.

His Speech tended directly against *Callisthenes*, whose gravity and prompt liberty of speech was hatefull unto the King, for he thought him the man who onely had stayed the Macedons, that else would readily have done him that honour. Hereupon every mans eyes were fastened on *Callisthenes*, who, after silence made, spake in this manner.

If the King were present (O *Cleo*) to hear these thy words, it should not be needful now to answer thee, for he himself would make request that he might not thus swerve into the custome of strangers, nor would he suffer that thou shouldest deface and bring into the obloquie and envy of men with such thy pernicious flattery his noble acts,

brought to paſſe with ſuch courage and good fortunes. But becauſe he is abſent, I for him will thus anſwer thee. There is no fruit ſoon ripe, that will continue long, this I mean by thy divine honours, which whileſt thou goeſt about to give unto the King, thou takeſt his honour from him. There is a time required that men ſhould beleeve him to be a God, for that gift hath alwayes been given to great men when they are once dead, by ſuch as came after them: I wiſh unto the King immortality after his death, and that his life may be long, and his eſtate continual. But Deifying is a thing that ſometimes doth follow a man, but it never doth accompany him. Thou diddeſt rehearſe examples of the Deifying of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, thinkeſt thou that they were made Gods upon Drink, and by the decree of one Dinner? The nature of *Alexanders* mortality muſt bee removed from our eyes, before the ſame can bring him into heaven. Are not they goodly Gods (*Cleo*) that thou and I can make? Would the King (thinkeſt thou) be content to receive of us the authority of his Godhead? I have a great deſire to prove thy power: If thou canſt make a God, firſt make a King. It is much more eaſie to give an earthly Kingdome, then the poſſeſſion of heaven. Thinkeſt thou (*Cleo*) that the immortal Gods will hear thee without diſdain, or ſuffer thoſe thy wicked counſels to take any effect? They would that we ſhould hold us content with the cuſtomes of our fore-fathers, and for my part I am not aſhamed of my Countrey, and deſire not to learn after what manner I ſhould honour my Prince, for in my opinion we acknowledge him ſufficiently to be both King and Conqueror, of whom we receive Laws to live under.

Caliſthenes was favourably heard of all men, as the perſon whom they accounted the recoverer of their univerſal liberty. He did not onely in this Speech paint out ſuch flatterers, but alſo lively expreſſed the opinion of the Macedons, eſpecially of ſuch as were ancient men, to whom the exchange of old cuſtomes were grievous. The King was nothing ignorant of the words that had paſſed between them, for he ſtood behind a partition of the Hall, and heard all the diſcourſe. He ſent word therefore to *Hagis* and *Cleo*, that at his comming in they ſhould move the ſtrangers onely to fall down and worſhip him after their Countrey cuſtome. And after a while, the King, as though he had been about ſome buſineſs of importance returned again unto the feaſt, and then the Perſians fell down and worſhipped him after ſuch ſort as was appointed, but *Polipercon* that ſate above the King at the

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boord, asked one in scorn who prostrate touched the ground wth his chin wherefore he kissed no harder, with which words he moved *Alexander* to so much anger being always impatient of it that he said to *Polipercon*:

Is it thou that disdaineſt to honor me? shall I be mocked of thee alone?

Polipercon answered that as it was not seemly that a King should be scorned, so it was not that a subject should be despised. At which words the King plucked him from the table, and throwing him down he said unto him, falling upon the earth.

Lo hast thou not done that thy self which before thou didst scorn in another man?

And thereupon he commanded him to custody, and so brake up the feast. *Polipercon* being thus punished was afterwards pardoned, but *Calisthenes* whose contempt and stubbornness the King had long grudged at, found that the King had more deeply grounded his displeasure, on whom there chanced shortly after an apt occasion for revenge. It was a custome as (it hath been said before) amongst the noble men of *Macedon* to put their sons, when they were past their childhood in service to the King, as pages to do necessary business about his person. Their usage was to watch nightly by course at the chamber door where the King lay. The Concubines were by them brought in at another doore where the guard watched. They likewise received the horses of the grooms of the stable, and brought them to the King when he mounted. They alwaies were about the King both in hunting and in battel, and were brought up in the studies of liberal Sciences. The chiefest honour was given unto them, because they did sit and eat with the King: none had power to correct them with stripes, but onely the King himself; This company was like a store or seminary, from whence all the Captains and Governours of the Macedons did proceed. From thence came their latter Kings, whose linage the power of the Romans long after did extinguish.

Hermolaus one of that number, because he had struck a bore (which the King had thought to have struck himself) was by his commandement beaten and scourged with rods, which rebuke he took most grievously, & complained to *Sostratus* his friend, who was one of the same company, he seeing the body torn whereunto he had so great affection, & peradventure for some other cause offended also with the King before, so excited *Hermolaus* (who was provoked sufficiently already) that each gave faith to other to find a way to destroy the King.

Which they undertook not with any childish proceeding, but wisely agreed to bring *Nicostratus*, *Antipater*, *Asclepiodorus*, and *Philotas*, into the fellowship of their conspiracy. And afterwards they joyned unto them *Anticles*, *Elaptonius*, and *Ephimanes*. But the way how to perform this purpose seemed very difficult, because it behooved that all of them should watch together. And it was the custome that according to their courses, some watched one night, and some another: for if any other should happen amongst them, who were not privy to the conspiracy, the same might be a let to the whole enterprise. Therefore about changing the course of their watch, and in other preparation for the execution of their conspiracy, there passed two and thirty days.

At length the night came when the whole number of the conspiratours should watch together, who rejoyced greatly amongst themselves that each had kept faith to other, whereof so many dayes silence had given good proof: during which time neither fear nor hope had altered any of their minds, so great was the displeasure they had conceived against the King, or else the fidelity they bare to one another. They were standing at the door, where the King did sup, to the intent that at his rising from the banquet, they might bring him to his chamber. But *Alexanders* fortune, and the pleasantness of such as were in his company moved him to drink largely, whereby, and by reason of other pastimes and devises, the time was so prolonged, that the conspirators stood in a marvellous perplexity. For one while they were glad because they trusted to find him drunk, when they should go about their enterprise, and another while they were in a great agony, least he should sit till day light, for then the custome was to relieve the watch, and others to succeed in their places, and because their course should not come about again till the seventh night after, they could not be assured that every one of them would keep the thing secret till that time. But when the day began to appear, and *Alexander* was risen from the banquet, they were so glad to execute their design, that they were joyfull to receive the King. There was a woman accustomed to haunt the Court, who being distracted in her mind, and seeming by some inspiration to shew things to come, met *Alexander*, and would in no wise suffer him to pass, but perswaded him by all the means she could devise to return and sit down again. He said to her in sport that the Gods gave him good advise, and thereupon called back again his friends, and

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ſate drinking till it was two houts within day, By which time another company had relieved the watch, and were ſtanding before the Kings chamber door, yet for all that the conſpirators remained there ſtill after the time of their watch expired, ſo vehement is the hope which mens minds conceive, when they be drowned in the deſire of great atchievements.

The King ſpake more gently to them then he was accuſtomed, and willed them to go to reſt, becauſe they had watched al the night before; & moreover he gave unto every one of them for a reward 50. ſeſtercies, with commendation, that they continued their watch longer then their time. Being thus deceived of the great hope they were in, they departed to their lodgings, in expectation of the night when their courſe ſhould come again. But *Ephimanes*, who either by the gentleneſs of the King ſhewed him amongſt the reſt, or elſe that he thought the providence of God had withſtood their purpoſe ſuddenly changed his mind and opened the conſpiracy to his brother *Enrilochus*, who was not privy to it before.

The puniſhment of *Philotas* was ſo freſh in every mans memory, that *Enrilochus* laid immediately hands upon his brother, and brought him into the Court. Hee called to the watch and told them he brought news pertaining to the Kings ſafeguard, which thing well appeared, as well by their comming at ſuch a time, as alſo by their ſadneſs which was a teſtimony of their troubled minds. The watchmen called up *Ptolomeus* and *Leonatus*, that lay within the Kings chamber, who ſtraightway brought them to the King, and wakened him, who by reaſon of his much drinking lay in a dead ſleep. It was long ere he awoke, but by little and little he came to himſelf, and asked what the matter was. Then ſaid *Enrilochus*, thanked be the Gods, that have not utterly determined the ruine of our family. For though my brother intended an hainous act, yet he is come to repentance, by him the matter is brought to light. This ſame very night treaſon was conſpired againſt you, the authors are ſuch as you would ſcarcely think. And thereupon *Ephimanes* declared all things in order, with the names of the conſpirators.

It is certain that *Caliſthenes* was not named as one privy to that treaſon; but it was confeſſed that he gladly gave ear to the diſcourſe of others, when they blamed and ſpake evill of the Kings proceedings. Some do adde thereunto, that when *Hermolaus* did complain to *Caliſthenes*

liſthenes how the King had beaten him, he bad him remember that he was a man. But whether he ſpake it to take the puniſhment in patience, or elſe to ſtir him to further malice, it remaineth in doubt. When the King was fully awaked, and called to his memory the peril he was in, he gave *Eurilochus* fifty Talents, with the forfeit of a rich mans goods called *Tiridates*, and pardoned his brother before his pardon was required. He commanded the principals of this treaſon to be kept bound, and among them *Caliſthenes*, who being taken and brought into the Court, the King ſlept all the day and the night enſuing, he was ſo heavy with drinking and watching. The next day he called a great counſel, whereat tthe father and kinſfolks of the conſpirators were preſent, not very well aſſured of their own ſafeguard, becauſe that by the law of the Macedons all ought to die that were of kin to traytors. All the conſpirators except *Caliſthenes*, by the Kings commandement, were brought forth, who immediately confeſſed the whole treaſon they had deviſed. Then every man preſent reviled them, and the King demanded what he had done to them, that they ſhould conſpire his death. When all the other ſtood ſtill and held their peace, *Hermolaus* anſwered thus.

Ye demand this thing of us as though you knew not the matter. We began to kill you becauſe you began to reign over us, as if we were ſlaves and not free born.

As he was ſpeaking theſe words, his father *Perſepolis* called him traytor and murtherer of his Parents, ſtopping his mouth with his hand, becauſe he ſhould ſpeak no further. Then the King plucked his father back, and willed *Hermolaus* to ſpeak ſuch things as he had learned of his maſter *Caliſthenes*. Then *Hermolaus* proceeded.

I will uſe your benefit, and declare thoſe things which I have learned to the great miſchief of us all. How ſmall is the number of the Macedons remaining, that have eſcaped your cruelty? *Attalus*, *Philotas*, *Parmenio*, *Linceſtes Alexander*, and *Clitus*, are now dead; but to our enemies behoof they be alive. They ſtood in the fight and defended you with their ſwords, receiving wounds for your glory and victory, which now be very well rewarded. The one beſprinkled your table with his bloud, and the other could not be ſuffered to die an ordinary death. Thus the Captains of your people be tormented and put to death, a pleaſant ſpectacle to the Perſians of whom they were Conquerours. *Parmenio* by whom you ſlew your enemy *Attalus*,

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was put unto death without judgement. Thus uſe you the hands of us wretches, as inſtruments to kill one another, and ſuch as even now were to be your tormentors, ſtraightwayes you command to be tormented by others.

At thoſe words the multitude began to ſhout againſt *Hermolaus*, and his father drew his ſword to have ſlain him, if he had not been hindred by the King, who commanded *Hermolaus* to ſpeak, requiring the reſt to hear him patiently, who (hee ſaid) enforced the cauſe of his own puniſhment. At length with great labour they held their peace, and then *Hermolaus* began again.

How liberal is he to ſuffer boyes to ſpeak, when the voice of *Calliſthenes* is ſhut up in priſon, becauſe he alone is able to declare himſelf? and why? becauſe he feareth the free ſpeech of an innocent, and cannot endure to behold his face, and yet I will juſtifie he is not privy to this matter. But others there are here preſent who contrived with me a noble enterpriſe, of whom there is not any that can accuſe *Calliſthenes* of conſent, and yet our ſo patient and ſo righteous a King, hath determined here his death. Theſe be the rewards of the Macedons, whoſe bloud is diſeſteemed as of no valour. He hath 30000 mules carrying ſpoil and treaſure, and yet the poor ſouldiers carry nothing with them but unrewarded skars and wounds, all which things we did eaſily ſuffer before he did betray us to the Barbarians, and by a new trade of conqueſt made us his own ſouldiers ſlaves. He alloweth the apparel and diſcipline of the Perſians; and deſpiſeth the manners of his own Countrey: and therefore we determined to kill him, not as King of Macedon but as King of *Perſia*, & as a turn-coat to be perſecuted by the law of arms. He would have the Macedons kneel to him, and worſhip him as a God. He refuſed *Philip* for his father, and if any God had been before *Iupiter*, he would have refuſed him likewiſe. Do you marvell if free men cannot bear this his pride? What can we hope for at his hands, ſeeing we muſt either die as innocents, or elſe (what is worſe then death) live and remain in bondage as ſlaves. He is greatly in my debt, if by this reproof he could amend: for he may learn of me the thing that free hearts cannot endure. Spare them whoſe age ſhall be ſufficiently tormented with the loſs of their children: but upon us cauſe execution to be done, to the intent we may obtain by our own death the liberty which we ſought for by thine.

When *Hermolaus* had ſpoken theſe words, the King anſwered after this manner.

How false these things be, which he hath learned of his instructor, my patience doth declare. For notwithstanding he before confessed this treason, yet my mind was that you should hear what he could say, knowing very well, that when I gave liberty to this Villain to speak, that he would use the same rage and fury in his discourse, which before moved him to have killed me whom he ought to have loved as his father. Of late when he used a great presumption, I comanded him to be chastised after the custome of our Countrey used by the Kings of *Macedon*, which chastisement we must grant needfull to be done, as the pupils are chastised by their tutors, and wives by their husbands, and servants by their masters. This was all the cruelty I used towards him, which he would have revenged with murther and treason. But how gentle I am to all that suffer me to use mine own disposition, since you your selves do know it, it were superfluous for me to rehearse. I cannot marvel at all though punishment of traytors be displeasant to *Hermolaus*, who is himself so great a traytor, when he commendeth *Parmenio* and *Philotas*, it maketh for his own purpose. I pardoned *Lyncestes Alexander* being accused by two witnesses, that he twise conspired treason against me; and being again convicted, yet deferred I his punishment two years, till you your selves required he might have his desert. Touching *Attalus*, you remember very wel how he wrought treason against me before I was King: And for *Clitus*, I would he had not moved me to wrath whose rash tongue speaking the rebuke and shame both of me and you, I suffered longer then he would have done me, speaking the like. The clemency of Kings and Princes consisteth not onely in their own disposition, but in theirs also who be under their subjection, for the rigour of such as be Rulers is mitigated with humility: But when mens minds be void of reverence, and high and low be consounded all alike, then it is necessary with violence to expel violence. But why do I marvel that he laid cruelty to my charge, that durst object against me covetousnes? I will not call you to witnes one by one lest I should upbraid you with my liberality, by making declaration what I have bestowed upon you. Behold the whole Army, who a little while ago had nothing else but their bare armour, do they not lie in silver beds? be not their tables charged with plate? and possess they not whole flocks of slaves? They are not able to sustain the spoils of their enemies. But it is said the Persians be honoured of me whom we have conquered. Truly they be so, and yet what great-

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er proof can there be of my moderation, then that I do not reign proudly over ſuch whom I have ſubdued. I came into *Aſia*, not utterly to ſubvert the Nations, nor make the one half of the world deſart, but to give the conquered cauſe not to repine at my victory. This is the occaſion they gladly fight for you, and for your Kingdome ſpend their bloud, who if they were proudly uſed would ſtraight rebel againſt you. That poſſeſſion is not durable which is kept by violence, but the thanks of a benefit received endureth everlaſtingly. If we purpoſe to enjoy *Aſia*, and not to make a progreſs only through it, we muſt make them partakers of our clemency, and then their fidelity ſhall make our Empire ſtable and perpetual; and truly we have now more then we can well wiſh or deſire. Covetouſneſs is an unſatiable Diſeaſe, eſpecially when men deſire to fill the veſſel that runneth over. But you will ſay that I mingle their cuſtomes with ours. It is ſo; And why? Becauſe I ſee in many Nations many things which we need not be aſhamed to follow, and ſo great an Empire as wee have got cannot otherwiſe be aptly governed, except we deliver ſome things to them & receive likewiſe ſome things back from them again. One thing is to be laughed at, that I ſhould refuſe *Iupiter* for my father, being ſo acknowledged by his Oracle, as who ſaith, the anſwer of the Gods were in my power. He profferred the name of his ſon unto me, which was not a thing unſeaſonable for the atchievements I intended. I would wiſh that the Indians could beleeve me to be a God, for the ſucceſs in war ſtandeth much by fame, and that which is falſly beleeved, ſometime worketh the effect of things that are true. Do you note me given to exceſs and prodigality, becauſe I garniſhed your armor with Gold and Silver? My purpoſe was to ſhew to men accuſtomed to ſuch things, nothing to be more vile then ſuch kind of mettal, and to declare that the Macedons (invincible in other things) could not be overcome with Gold it ſelf. After this manner I ſhall blind the eyes of the barbarous, who are always wont at the firſt ſight to wonder at things, be they never ſo baſe and vile. And in that we ſhew to make no eſtimation of it, we ſhall declare to all men that we are not come for deſire of Gold nor Silver, but to ſubdue the whole world; from which glory thou Traytor wouldeſt have bereaved me, and betrayed the Macedons (I being ſlain) to the barbarous Nations. I am exhorted to ſpare their parents; Although it was not expedient that they ſhould know what I have determined of them, and to the intent they might die with

the greater grief, if they have any care or memory of them, yet long ago I have forborn the cuſtome of putting the innocent parents and kinſfolk of traytors to death with the offendors, and I now profeſs to pardon them, and have them all in the ſame eſtimation I had before. I know thou wouldeſt have thy Maſter *Caliſtenes* brought forth who onely eſteemed thee, being of his complexion, becauſe thou deſireſt to hear pronounced from his month thoſe railing words which even now thou didſt vomit out againſt me; If he had been a Macedon born I had brought him into the place with thee, a worthy Maſter of ſuch a Diſciple, but being born in another Countrey, he is ſubject to another law.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, he diſmiſſed the Councel, and commanded all ſuch as were condemned to be delivered to the ſouldiers of their own Regiments, who becauſe they would declare by ſome cruelty the love they bare towards their Prince, ſlew them all by torments. *Caliſtenes* alſo died upon the Rack, innocent of the conſpiracy againſt the Kings perſon, but a man not pliable to the cuſtome of the Court, and abhorring from the diſpoſition of flatterers. There was never any thing that brought the Greeks into a greater indignation againſt *Alexander*, then that he not onely killed, but cauſed to be tormented to death, and that without judgement, a man endued with Godly manners, and good Sciences, and one by whom he was perſwaded to live, when he purpoſed to have died for ſorrow that he had ſlain *Clitus*, which his cruelty repentance followed that came too late. But leſt he might nouriſh idleneſs, apt for the ſowing of ſeditious rumours, he advanced towards *India*, always more glorious in war then after his victory.

The whole Countrey of *India* lieth chiefly towards the Eaſt, containing more in length then it doth in breadth. The North parts be full of mountains and hills, but all the reſt of the land is plain, having many fair rivers, which running out of the Mount *Caucaſus*, do paſs pleaſantly through the Countrey. *Indus* is more cold then any other of the Rivers, whoſe water is not unlike the colour of the Sea. But of all the Rivers in the Orient, *Ganges* is moſt excellent, which running from the South, paſſeth directly through many great Mountains, until that by the encountring with rocks, his courſe is turned towards the Eaſt, where it is received into the red Sea. The violence of the ſtream breaketh down his banks, ſwallowing trees, and much of the ground. In many

many places the ſtream is kept in with the rocks, on which it beateth; but where the ground is more ſoft there the river becommeth more large, and maketh many Iſlands. The greatneſs of *Ganges* is much increaſed by the river of *Aceſines*, who both meet before they enter into the ſea: at their meeting the water is violently troubled, and whiles the one reſiſteth the others entry, neither of them ſeem to give place to other. *Diardnes* is a river of the leſs fame, becauſe it runneth in the uttermoſt bounds of *India*; but yet it bringeth forth Crocodiles as the *Nile* doth, and alſo *Dolphins*, with Monſters unknown to other nations. Crooked *Erimanthus* with his many turnings and reflexions is conſumed by the inhabitants with watering their ground, which is the cauſe that when it draweth near the ſea, it becommeth very little, and beareth no name. There be many other rivers that divide the country: but none of them be ſo famous as theſe, becauſe they do not run ſo far. The Northwind doth blaſt and annoy thoſe parts moſt that be next unto the ſea: but thoſe winds are ſo broken with the tops of the mountains, that they cannot endamage the inward parts of the country, wherefore fruits be very plentifull there, and perfect. But that region doth ſo much differ from the ordinary courſe of time in other parts of the world, for when other countries be burned moſt with the Sun, *India* is covered over with ſnow. And when other places be frozen, the heat is there moſt intollerable, and yet there appeareth not any naturall cauſe why it ſhould be ſo.

The colour of the Indian ſea not differing much from the water of other ſeas, did take his name of K. *Erithrus*, by reaſon whereof the ignorant Greeks took opinion that the water of thoſe ſeas was red. The land is very aboundant of Flax, whereof the greater part of their garments are made. The twigs of the trees be ſo tender, that they receive the print of letters like wax. The birds by teaching counterfeit the voices of men. There be many beaſts which are not bred among other nations. *Rhinoceros* be there brought forth, but not bred. The Elephants of that countrey be ſtronger then thoſe that be made tame in *Affricke*, and their highneſs do anſwer to their ſtrength. The water of the rivers do carry down gold, and run mildly without any great fall. The ſea doth caſt upon the ſhore both pearls and precious ſtones, whereof proceeded the cauſe of their great riches, for after their Merchandize was once known to other nations, the purgings of the ſeas were highly eſteemed, as the fanſie of man would make the price.

The diſpoſitions of the men (as in all other places) be according to the ſituation of the countries they dwell in. They make their garments of linnen cloath, which cover their bodies down to their feet. They bind ſandals under their feet and wear Rolls of linnen about their heads. Such as be in any degree either of nobility or riches, have precious ſtones hanging at their ears, and they cover all their arms with bracelets and ornaments of gold. They uſe great curioſity in combing of their heads, which they cut very ſeldome. They ſhave without any form of gravity all parts of their face, ſaving their chin. But the exceſs in voluptuouſneſs (which they call magnificence) uſed by them doth exceed the vices of all nations. When their will is to be ſeen abroad, their ſervants carry about them perfuming pans of ſilver, and fill all the wayes where they go with ſweet ſavours: they themſelves be born in litters of gold hanging with pearls, and the garments they wear be of gold and purple empaled together. The armed men follow their Litter, and ſuch as be of their guard, among whom are birds born upon boughs, which they teach alwaies to ſing, when they be converſant in earneſt matters.

In the Kings Pallace are pillers of gold carved about with vines of gold, wherein, the Images of thoſe birds they delight in moſt be artificially wrought. The Court is open to all commers. When the Kings do comb and dreſs their heads, they uſe to give anſwer to the Embaſſadours, and execute juſtice upon their people. When their ſandals be taken off their feet are anointed with ſweet odours. The greateſt travel they take is when they hunt wild beaſts incloſed *in* Parks which they ſtrike whiles their Concubines are ſinging and dallying with them; the arrows they ſhoot be of two cubits long, which do not the effect of the force they be ſhot withall, by reaſon of their weight which is an impediment to their ſwiftneſs, wherein the property of the arrow chiefly conſiſteth. In ſmall journeys they uſe to ride on horſeback; but when they are to travel further, they be carried upon Elephants, whoſe huge bodies be covered all over with gold. And becauſe no vice ſhould be wanting in their corrupt manners, great numbers of Concubines do follow them in golden litters. The Queens have their companies ſeparate by themſelves, who in all excels of voluptuouſneſs are nothing inferior to the Kings. It belongeth to the women there to dreſs meat, and they alſo ſerve men with wine, whereof there is great plenty among the Indians. When the King hath largely drunk, and is fallen into a ſleep, his

Concubines

Concubines use to carry him into his chamber, calling upon their Gods in a hymn after their country manner.

Who would think that amongst all these vices there were any regard of vertue? there are amongst them a rough kind of people, whom they call wise men, who count it the most glorious thing to prevent their own death: and they use to burn themselves whiles they be alive. It is imputed for a great shame to such as either cannot well stir for age, or have not their perfect health, if they prolong their life till their naturall death approach: nor is there any honour given to those bodies that die for age. They think the fires to be defiled, if the bodies be not alive that are burned in them. Such as live in Cities after a civill manner attain to the most apt knowledge of the motion of the stars and of the Prophecy of things to come, nor can they think that any man doth shorten his life, that looketh for death without fear. They esteem those for Gods whom they begin once to worship, and especially trees, the violating of which they forbid upon pain of death. They number fifty days to the moneth, and notwithstanding limit their years as they do in other places. They note not their times by such course of the Moon, as is commonly used, that is from the full Moon, but from the first quarter, when she beginneth to be horned, and by counting after the same manet, they make their accounts more uncertain. There are many other things reported of them, with which I thought not necessary to interrupt the order of this history. As *Alexander* entred into *India*, the Princes of the Country addressed themselves unto him, submitting themselvs and declaring that he was the third man being begotten of *Iupiter* that came into their country. They said that *Hercules* & *Bacchus* were not known to them, but only by fame, but they rejoyced that they might behold him present with their eyes. *Alexander* receivedthem with all the gentleness he could devise, and willed them to accompany him, because he would use them as guides in his journey. But when he saw that the whole nation came not, he sent *Perdicas* and *Ephestion* with part of his army before to subdue such as would not submit themselves, and willed them to go forwards till they came to the River of *Indus*, and there to make boats, in which he might transport his army; and because they had to pass many rivers, the boats were so deviled, that they might be taken asunder and carried in carts, and afterwards joyned together again. He appointed *Craterus* to follow him with the Phalanx, and he with such horsemen and footmen as were

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light armed marched before, and being encountred on his way he fought a ſmal battel and did drive his enemies into the next City. When *Craterus* was come (to the intent he might ſtrike terrour amongſt thoſe people that had not yet proved the Macedons force) he commanded that when they won the City they ſhould kill both man, woman, and child, and burn the ſame to the ground; but as he was riding about the walls he was hurt with an arrow. Notwithſtanding the City was won and all put to the ſword, the very houſes not eſcaping the cruelty of the Conquerours.

Oh Alex. in what conſisted thy great neſs?

Cruelty

After this, he ſubdued an obſcure nation, and came to a City called *Niſa*. It chanced that whiles they incamped in a wood before the City, there fell a cold in the night which more afflicted the Macedons then ever it had done before in any other place, againſt the which they prepared the remedy that was next at hand, and cut down the wood to make them great fires: the flame whereof took hold of the Sepulchres belonging to the City, which by reaſon they were made of Cedar they were ſoon ſet on fire, and never left burning till they were all conſumed. The fire made both an alarum in the City, and in the Camp; for the Citizens thereby judged that their enemies would make ſome attempt againſt them, and the Macedons perceived by the barking of the dogs, and the noiſe of the men, that the Indians would ſalley out upon them.

Wherefore *Alexander* iſſuing out of his Camp in order of battel, ſlew ſuch as attempted the fight. Thereupon they within the City became of divers opinions, ſome were minded to yeeld, and others thought good to adventure the extremity. When *Alexander* underſtood of their diviſion, he cauſed his men to abſtain from ſlaughter, and onely to maintain the ſiege. At length they were ſo wearied with the diſcommodities of the war, that they yeelded themſelves. They affirmed their originall to be from *Bacchus*, who indeed builded their City at the foot of a Mountain called *Meroe*: the quality of which Mountain being reported to *Alexander* by the inhabitants he ſent victuals before, and paſſed thither with his whole army, incamping upon the top thereof.

The Mountain grew full of Vines and Ivy, abounding with ſprings that flowed out in every place. The ſame was alſo plentifull of many kinds of apples of moſt pleaſant taſte: the ground alſo brought forth Corn without cultivation. There grew plenty of lawrel trees, with ma-

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ny kinds of wild fruit. I cannot impute it unto any motion of religion, but rather to plenty and wantonneſs, that cauſed *Alexander* to repair thither: where, of the Ivy and the Vine leaves were made garlands by the ſouldiers, who ran up and down the hills (after a diſolute manner) all the hollows and valleys thereabout rebounding with the voice of ſo many thouſands of men, calling upon *Bacchus*, to whom that place was dedicate: which licence and liberty, being begun of a few was ſpread ſo ſuddenly through the whole army, that the ſouldiers ſcattered abroad without order, lay here and there repoſing themſelves upon the graſs and leaves that they had gathered together, as it had been a time of quiet and moſt aſſured peace, which licentiouſneſs of the ſouldiers, riſing by chance, *Alexander* did not withſtand, but ten days together made feaſts to *Bacchus*, during which time he plentifully banqueted his whole army. Who can therefore deny, but that greatneſs of fame and glory, is oftentimes a benefit rather of fortune then of vertue? for their enemies had no heart to ſet upon them, whiles they were drowned in this exceſs of banqueting, drunkenneſs, and ſloth, but were as much afraid of their drunkenneſs, as if they had heard their cry encountring with them in battel: which felicity preſerving them here, did afterwards defend them after the ſame manner in the middeſt of their enemies, returning as it were in triumph from the Ocean ſea, when they were given all to feaſting and to drunkenneſs.

When *Alexander* deſcended from the mountain, he went to a countrey called *Dedala*, which the inhabitants forſook and fled to the woods and wild mountains, & therefore he paſſed from thence into *Acadera*, which he found both burned and abandoned likewiſe of the inhabitants, whereby of neceſſity he was compelled to uſe the war after another manner. For he divided his army into divers parts, and ſhewed his power in many places at once. By which means he oppreſſed them before they could provide for themſelves, and ſubdued them to their utter ruine. *Ptolomeus* took moſt Cities, but *Alexander* won the greateſt, and afterwards joyned again his army together, which he had thus divided. That done, he went forwards and paſſed a river called *Choaſpe*, where he left *Ceno* to beſiege a rich City called *Bazira*, and he himſelf went to *Mazage*, where *Aaſſacanus* being dead, had left the dominion both of the Country and the City to his mother *Cleophes*. There were 300000. footmen to defend that City, which both was well fortified and ſtrong of ſcituation, being incloſed upon the

Eaſt with a ſwift river, having ſteep banks defending the City, that it could not be approached on that ſide. Upon the South and the Weſt parts, nature (as it were for the once) had planted high rocks lying betwixt them, and deep hollows and pits made many hundred years before, where the rocks ceaſed, there began a ditch of wonderfull depth and wideneſs. The wall wherewith the City was incloſed, was 35 furlongs in compaſs, whereof the neather parts were builded of ſtone, and the upper parts of clay, yet the ſtones were mixed with the clay, to the intent that the frail ſubſtance clinging to the harder, the one ſhould bind the other; and leaſt the earth waſhed upon with the rain might fall all together, there were ſtanchings of timber put betwixt to ſtay the whole work, which, covered over with boords, was a way for men to go upon. *Alexander* beholding this kind of fortification was uncertain what to do. For he ſaw he could not approach to the walls, but by filling of thoſe ditches and hollow places, and that he could not otherwiſe fill them, then by making of a Mount, which was the onely way he had to bring his Engines to the walls, but whiles he was viewing the town after that manner, he was ſtruck from the wall with an arrow on the thigh, which he pulled out, and without wrapping of his wound, he called for his horſe, & letted not for his hurt to give order for ſuch things as he thought expedient. But at length when by hanging of his leg, the bloud drew from the wound and waxed cold, whereby his hurt began to pain him, he then ſaid he was called the ſon of *Jupiter*, but yet he felt in himſelf the infirmities of a diſeaſed body. Notwithſtanding he would not return into the Camp, before he had viewed what was neceſſary, and gave order for all things he would have done. After that, the ſouldiers had received their orders, by plucking down of houſes without the town, they got great plenty of ſtuff to make the mount withall. And by caſting ſtocks of trees on heaps into the ditches and hollow places, the mount within nine dayes was raiſed up to the top of the walls, and the towers were planted upon the ſame, ſuch was the labour and diligence that the ſouldiers uſed in this buſineſs. The King before his wound was cloſed up, took the pains to ſee how the works went forwards, and when he perceived them in ſuch height, he commended the ſouldiers for their diligence, and cauſed things to be brought to the walls, by reaſon of which they that defended the wals were ſore afflicted with ſhot, And by reaſon they had not ſeen

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any ſuch kind of work before, they were wonderfully amazed, eſpecially when they beheld the towers of ſuch bigneſs to come forwards and yet could not perceive by what means they were moved, they therefore judged it to be done by the power of the Gods. And, beſides, they could not think it a matter of mans invention, that ſo great darts and ſpears as came among them, ſhould be ſhot by engines; Diſpairing therefore of the defence of their City they retired into the Caſtle, and becauſe they could not be ſatisfied any manner of way till they had yeelded themſelves, they ſent Embaſſadours to the King to ask pardon, which being obtained at his hand, the Queen with a great train of noble women came forth, bearing in their hands cups of gold full of wine. The Queen preſenting her little ſon before the Kings feet, not onely obtained pardon. but alſo a reſtorement to her former dignity. Therefore ſome thought that her beauty procured her more favour then his mercy: but this is certain, that the child which afterwards ſhe brought forth (whoſoever did beget it) was called *Alexander*. From this place *Polipercon* was ſent with a power to a City calleſt *Nora*, where he overthrew in battel the inhabitants that incountred with him, whereby he got the City to his poſſeſſion.

There were many other Cities obſcure of fame whic h came into *Alexanders* hands, by the abandoning of the inhabitants, who aſſembled themſelves together in arms, and kept a rock called *Dorinis*. The fame was that *Hercules* had beſieged this Rock before time in vain, and by reaſon of an earthquake was inforced to depart. When *Alexander* viewed this rock, and ſaw how ſteep it was and unpaſſeable, he became void of counſel, til ſuch time as an old man that knew wel the place, came to him with his two ſons, offering for a reward to guide his men by a way to the top of the rock. *Alexander* promiſed them fourſcore talents, and keeping one of his ſons as a pledge, he ſent him to perform what he had promiſed.

Mullinus the Kings Secretary was appointed with certain ſouldiers light armed, to follow the guide, whoſe purpoſe was to deceive the Indians, by fetching a compaſſe about the rock; but this ſame rock was not as the moſt part of rocks are, which lying aſloap, have ways up unto the top by degrees, for it ſtood upright after the faſhion of a but, being broad beneath, and ever as it grew upward, it grew leſs and leſs, till it became ſharp in the top, and it was encloſed on the one ſide with the river of *Indus*, having high and ſteep banks, and upon the other

ſide with deep ditches and hollow places, full of water and mud. Wherefore there could be deviſed no way to win it, except thoſe ditches were firſt filled. There was a wood at hand which the King commanded to be cut down, & cauſing the boughs to be ſhread off for the carriage, they filled the hollows with the bare ſtocks. *Alexander* bare the firſt tree, and all the ſouldiers followed with a couragious ſhout: for there was no man that would refuſe to do that which they ſaw the King begin, ſo that within ſeven days the ditches and hollow places were filled up. Then the King appointed the Agrians and the archers to go to the aſſault, and did chooſe 30 young men of ſuch as he judged moſt apt for the purpoſe, out of his own band, appointing *Charus* and one *Alexander* to be their conducters, and exhorted *Alexander* that the remembrance of his name might make him hardy.

At the firſt becauſe the hazard was ſo manifeſt, the King was not determined to adventure his own perſon, but when the Trumpet blew to the aſſault, he was of ſuch a ready courage that he could not abſtain, but making a ſign to his guard that they ſhould follow him, he was the firſt that ſet foot upon the rock. There were few contented to tarry behind, but many left their array where they ſtood in order of battel, and followed the King. The chance of thoſe was miſerable whom the running river ſwallowed in, when they fell down from the rock: which ſight was ſorrowfull to ſuch as were out of danger, being admoniſhed by the peril of others, what they ought to fear themſelvs, hereupon their compaſſion being turned into fear, they lamented as well themſelves, as thoſe whom they ſaw die before their faces. At length they advanced ſo far that without getting of the rock they could not retire back again without apparent deſtruction. For their enemies rowled down great ſtones upon them, wherewith they were eaſily beaten down, by reaſon the rock had ſo ſlippery and unſtable ſtanding. Yet for all that *Charus* and *Alexander* who were appointed to the leading of the thirty choſen ſouldiers, had gotten to the top of the rock, and began to fight hand to hand. But there was ſo many darts caſt at them from a far, that they received more wounds then they could give: wherefore *Alexander* both mindful of his name and of his promiſe, whiles he fought more eagerly then warily, was incloſed about and ſlaine. Whom when *Charus* ſaw dead, he ran upon his enemies and unmindfull of all things, ſaving of revenge, he ſlew many with his pike, and divers with his ſword. But being laid at by ſo many at once, he fell down dead upon the body of his friend.

friend. The death of theſe two ſo hardy young men, and of the reſt moved *Alexander* greatly, yet perceiving no remedy, he cauſed the retreat to be ſounded. It was greatly for their ſafeguard, that they retired by little and little without appearance of any fear. And the Indians contented to have repulſed their enemies purſued not after them. *Alexander* hereupon was determined to leave off his purpoſe, ſeeing hee ſaw no hope how to win the rock: yet he made a countenance as though he meant to continue the ſiege ſtill. For both he cauſed the wayes to be cloſed up, and made an approach with towers of wood, always putting freſh men in the place of them that were wearied.

When the Indians perceived *Alexanders* obſtinacy, two days and two nights they banquetted continually, and played upon timbrels, after their manner, to cauſe their enemies to think they had no doubt in the ſiege, but truſted certainly to prevail. The third night the noiſe of the Timbrels ceaſed, and many torches were ſeen burning, that the Indians had lighted to ſee which way they might eſcape down the rock in the dark of the night. *Alexander* ſent *Balachrus* to diſcover the event, who found that the Indians were fled, and that the rock was abandoned. Then a ſign was given that the whole army ſhould give a ſhout together, whereby they did ſtrike ſuch fear amongſt their enemies flying without order, that many of them thinking the Macedons at their backs, leaped down the rocks, and ſlew themſelves, whereof ſome maimed in their falling were left behind their fellows that fled away.

Thus the King being Conquerour of the place rather then of the men, teſtified notwithſtanding, with ſolemn ſacrifice to the Gods, a greatneſs of victory, and ſet up Altars on the rock to *Minerva* and *Victoria*. And though the guides that he appointed to his light armed men, performed not ſo much as they promiſed, yet their reward was truly given them. And the rule of the rock with the countrey thereabouts was committed to *Siſocoſtus*, he himſelf going forwards with his army from thence to *Echolima*.

Alexander underſtanding that certain ſtraights through the which he ſhould paſs, were kept by one *Erix* with twenty thouſand armed men, he committed that part of his army that were heavy laden to *Cenon*, to be brought on by ſoft journeys, and going before in perſon with the ſlingers and archers, he put his enemies to flight making the way clear for his army to paſſe that followed after. The Indians, whether it

were for the hatred they did bear unto their Captain, or else to get the favour of the Conqueror, killed *Erix* as he fled away, and brought his head and his armor unto *Alexander*. He considering the foulness of the act, would not honor the doers for their example sake, nor punish them because they served his purpose.

From thence by sixteen encampings hee came to that part of the River of *Indus* where *Ephestion* had prepared all things in such sort as he had commission. One *Omphis* was King of that Countrey who before had perswaded his father to submit himself unto *Alexander*, and immediately upon his fathers death sent Embassadors unto him to know his pleasure, whether he should take upon him, as a King before his comming, or else live privately in the mean season: And although he was permitted to govern as a King, yet he would not use the authority granted him until the King came. He had caused *Ephestion* to be received in the best sort he could devise, but notwithstanding he had not visited him, because he would not commit his person to any mans fidelity but to the Kings.

When he understood of *Alexanders* comming, he went towards him with his whole power, whose Elephants by small distances mixed in battel amongst his footmen, shewed a far off like Castles. At the first *Alexander* did not take him as a friend, but as an enemy, and therefore set his men in order of battel, and his horsemen in wings in readiness to fight. When *Omphis* understood the errour of the Macedons, he commanded his men to stay, and putting his spurs to his horse, he rode forwards alone: *Alexander* did the like, not questioning whether he were a friend or an enemy, but thought himself secure, either through his own manhood, or the others fidelity. Their meeting, as it appeared by their countenances, was very friendly, but for want of an interpreter they could not speak together; therefore after they had called one unto them, the Indian King declared unto *Alexander*, that the cause he met him with an army, was to put immediately his whole power into his hands, and tarried not to intreat for any assurance by Messengers, but upon trust onely had committed both his person and his Kingdome to him, whom he knew to make war for the winning of glory and fame, and therefore could not fear in him any perfidiousness.

Alexander rejoyced to see his simplicity, and profferred him his right hand as a pledge of his promise, and restored unto him again his Kingdome

Kingdome: He presented unto *Alexander* fifty and six Elephants, with many other beasts of exceeding greatness, and three thousand Bulls, which is a cattel of great value in those Countreys, and much esteemed of Kings. *Alexander* enquired of him whether he had under his dominion more souldiers, or tillers of the ground: He answered, that he was driven of necessity to have more souldiers, because he was at war with two Kings, whose Kingdomes lay beyond the River of *Hydaspes*, their names were *Abisares*, and *Porus*, but the authority remained in *Porus*. He said that he was prepared and resolved to adventure the hazard of the battel with such of them as should invade him first. Hereupon *Alexander* granted unto *Omphis* both to take upon him the Diadem, and the name of his father that was called *Taxiles*, the custome of the Countrey being such, that the Name ever followed the Kingdome whosoever enjoyed it.

When he had received *Alexander* honourably in hospitality three days, the fourth day he declared how much corn he had delivered to *Ephestion*, and to his Army, presenting to the King and to all his friends Crowns of gold, and besides of coined silver fourscore talents. *Alexander* rejoyced so much in his good will, that he both returned again to him his gifts, and gave him besides a thousand talents, of the spoil he brought with him, with much plate of gold and silver, many garments after the Persian manner, and thirty of his own horses, with the same furniture they did wear when he did ride upon them, which liberality, as it obliged *Omphis*, so it greatly offended the mind of the Macedons. For *Meleager* at supper whe he had well drunk, said, he was very glad that *Alexander* had yet found one in *India*, whom he judged worthy to receive the gift of a thousand talents. The King bearing in mind how much he had repented the slaying of *Clitus* for the rashness of his tongue, refrained his anger, but yet told him that envious men were ever tormentors to themselves.

The next day the Embassadours of King *Abisares* came unto *Alexander*, who according to their Commission offered all things unto his will: whereupon assurance being confirmed, they returned again to their master. *Alexander* therefore thinking that through the greatness of his name, *Porus* might be brought to do the like, sent *Cleochares* to him to demand tribute, and to summon him to come and do homage, when he should enter the bounds of his Kingdome. *Porus* made answer that of those two requests he would perform one, which

was

was to meet him at the entry of his Kingdome, but that ſhould be in arms, and with a power. *Alexander* therefore being determined to paſſe the River of *Hydaſpis*, *Barzantes* that had been Author of the rebellion amongſt the Arachoſians, was taken, and brought to him bound, with thirty Elephants, an apt aſſiſtance againſt the Indians, that are wont to put more truſt in thoſe beaſts then in the force of their own Nation. *Gamaxus* King of a ſmall portion of *India*, which had confederated with *Barzantes*, was brought likewiſe bound unto him. Wherefore committing them both to priſon, and the Elephants to *Omphis*, he came unto the River of *Hydaſpis*. But *Porus* lay encamped on the further ſide to hinder his paſſage, having fourſcore and five Elephants of huge ſtrength of body, three hundred waggons of war, thirty thouſand footmen, amongſt whom there were many Archers, whoſe ſhafts (as hath been ſaid before) were more heavie then they could weld. *Porus* himſelf did ride upon an Elephant greater then all the reſt, who alſo being of a big ſtature, appeared notable in his armour that was garniſhed with gold and ſilver, having alſo a courage equal to the ſtrength of his body, and ſo great a wiſedome as was poſſible to be found amongſt ſo rude a Nation.

The Macedons were not ſo much afraid with the ſight of their enemies, as they were with the greatneſſe of the River they had to paſs, which being four furlongs in breadth, and ſo deep that no footing could be found, appeared to them like a great Sea, and yet the largeneſs thereof nothing mittigated the violence of the ſtream, but it ran with no leſſe fury then if it had beene narrow, appearing by the repercuſſion of the water in many places, to be full of great ſtones in the bottome.

This River being ſufficient to affright them of it ſelf, the ſight of the further bank, full of Horſe and Men, was an increaſe to their terrour; where the Elephants that had bodies of an unreaſonable greatneſs ſtood in their ſight, being provoked to bray of purpoſe, to the intent that with their terrible noiſe they ſhould fill their enemies ears with fear. Though the Macedons were couragious, and their hearts full of good hope, as they who oftentimes had experience of their own acts, yet their enemies, and the River both together, made them wonderfully amazed, for they could not think how to keep a ſtedfaſt courſe to the further ſhore in ſo weak and uncertain boats, nor when they were there, could they ſee how to arive with ſucceſs.

There

There were many Iſlands in the middeſt of the River, into the which both the Indians and the Macedons did ſwim, holding their weapons above their heads: There they skirmiſhed together in the ſight of both Kings, who by experience of this ſmall bickering made trial of the ſucceſs of the battel to come.

But amongſt all the Macedons there were two noble young men, called *Siſimacus* and *Nicanor*, excelling in courage, and in hardy attempts, and through their continual good fortune, had got a reſolution to deſpiſe all peril. Other young men took them from their Captains, and without any other armour laying their pikes, ſwom over into an Iſland which was ful of their enemies, where through their boldneſs onely, they ſlew many of them, and ſo might have returned with glory, if raſhneſs (where it findeth proſperous ſucceſs) could ever be content with meaſure: But while with ſcorn and pride they taried for their enemies, they were ſuddenly encloſed by ſuch as did ſwim over the River, and were killed with Darts which they caſt at them from a far. Such as eſcaped their enemies, were either drowned in the depth of the water, or with the eddies of the ſtream.

This fight put *Porus* in great courage, who ſaw all their doings from the further ſhore; And though *Alexander* was long uncertain what way to take, yet at length he deceived his enemies by this policie. There was an Iſland in the River greater then the reſt, and apt to hide his deſign, by reaſon it was full of wood, and had a great rampier caſt upon that bank which was towards his enemies, there both his footmen and horſemen might ſtand covered from the ſight of the Indians; and the rather to turn their eyes another way from looking toward the Iſland, he cauſed *Ptolomy* with a great number of horſemen to ſhew themſelves againſt their enemies far off from the Iſland, and to put the Indians in fear of them, making ever a ſhew as though they would ſwim over the River, which thing *Ptolomy* did many dayes together, to the intent that *Porus* ſhould be enforced to remove his army to that part to withſtand him, and thereby brought them out of ſight of the Iſland. *Alexander* alſo cauſed his own Pavilion to be ſet upon the Rivers ſide over againſt his enemies, and all the pomp that pertained to the ſtate of a King to be ſet forth within their view, with his Life-guard ſtanding in ſight, the ſame which was wont to attend his perſon: Furthermore, *Attalus*, who was equal with *Alexander* in years, and like unto him both in face and in perſonage, ſtood there openly apparelled

relled like the King, that it might appear to *Porus*, that *Alexander* was still remaining there, and went not about to pass the river.

The execution of this design was first letted by a tempest, whereby afterwards it was furthered, and brought to good effect; fortune ever using to turn her discommodities, into good success towards him. For when the enemies were thus attent to observe *Ptolomy* who lay upon the river against him; and *Alexander* with the rest of the army, was busie about the passing of his men into the Island before mentioned, there fell suddenly a great storm, scarcely tollerable to such as lay within their Cabines, which so much afflicted the souldiers abroad, that they forsook their boats, and fled again to land. And yet for all this, their bussling and noise was not heard of their enemies through the vehemency of the shower.

As this Tempest began suddenly, so it suddenly ceased, but the clouds remained so dark, that there appeared not so much light as the souldiers might know one another by the face, when they spake together, which darkness might have feared some other men, considering that they had to row in a river that they knew not, their enemies (peradventure) waying for them at their landing, whither they went as blind men that for glory sought in perill. But *Alexander* used that which put other men in terrour, to serve for his desire, and willed that every man (upon a sign given) should enter into their boats with silence: his boat was the first that lanched from the shore, towards the further side of his enemies, *Porus* onely keeping his watch against *Ptolomy*. There was but one boat that stuck fast by the way upon a rock, and all the other recovered the land.

Alexander then commanded the souldiers to prepare their armour and fall into array, and whilest he was dividing his men, to put them in order of battel and to march towards his enemies it was reported to *Porus*, that a great number of men of war were come over the river, and landed, which would straightways give him battel. But he, at the first (according to the fault that is mans nature through overmuch confidence in himself) beleeved it not but thought that *Abisares* who was confederate with him had come to his assistance. Yet when the day appeared, and the truth was manifest, *Porus* put forth a hundred armed waggons, and four thousand horsemen, under the leading of *Hagis* his brother, to keep *Alexander* in action.

They counted those waggons their principal force; for every one of them

them carried six men, two archers, two with targets, and two that ruled the horses, which were not unarmed; but when it came to the fight they let their reins loose, and bestowed their darts among their enemies. But the use of those waggons served to small purpose; for the shower that had fallen more violently then was accustomed, had made the fields wet and slabby, that the waggons could not stir, but stuck in the mire, and became immoveable, whereas *Alexander* being without baggage, or any thing that might be an impediment unto him fiercely invaded his enemies.

The Scythians and the Dahans were the first that gave the onset, and *Perdicas* was appointed with the horsemen to charge upon the right hand battel of the Indians. Then the battels beginning to join on all parts, they that had the charge of the Waggons, counting them their last refuge, let loose the reins, and rushed forward into the middest of the fight.

The comming of these Waggons appeared to be a matter doubtfull and dangerous to both parties; for at the first brunt both the Macedons were born over and overthrown by them, and when the Wagons came in any rough or mirie place, the Indians were thrown out of them. For when the horses that drew them were once galled, and put in fear, they carried the Waggons without government, and tumbled part of them in the mire, and part into the river: A few traversed the fields, and fled for succour unto *Porus*, who seeing his Waggons scattered all over the fields, and to wander about with their Rulers, he distributed the charge of his Elephants amongst his friends, and placed his footmen and archers behind them.

Hee had many that sounded upon Timbrels (being Instruments that the Indians used in the stead of Trumpets) wherewith their Eares were so filled, that the noise of their Enemies little moved them. They did bear also the Image of *Hercules* in in the front of their foot battel, which was done for an encouragement for them to fight well, and for a note of reproof and scandal to them that should flie from their standard, for it was loss of life to leave it in the field. So that the fear they conceived of *Hercules* who sometimes had been their enemie, was then turned into a veneration and religion.

The sight both of the Elephants, and *Porus* himselfe, astonied the Macedons, and caused them a while to make a stand; for the beasts be-

ing set in order amongst the armed men, shewed a far off like high Towers, and *Porus* himself exceeding the stature of most men, the Elephant whereupon he did ride was an addition unto his height, which excelled so much all the other Elephants as he himself excelled the rest of men: So that *Alexander* beholding both *Porus* and his power, said, that at length he had found a Jewel equal unto his heart; For we have to do (quoth he) both with terrible beasts, and with notable men of war. And therupon he looked towards *Cenon*, and said unto him,

When I with *Ptolomy*, *Perdicas*, and *Ephestion* shall set upon the left battel of our enemies, and you shall see us in heat of fight, do you then set forwards my right battel, and freshly assail them when you see them begin to fall out of order: *Antigonus*, *Leonatus*, and *Tauron*, do you bend against their main battel, and set upon their front: Our Pikes be long and strong, and cannot serve to any better use, then against the Elephants, wherewith they may be thrust through, and such overthrown as be carried upon their backs; The Elephants be but an uncertain force, which use to do most harm unto their own part, for as they use to go against their enemies so long as they be at command, so when they be once put in fear, they turn against their own men, and shew most rage towards them.

He had not so soon spoken these words, but he put spurs to his horse, advancing against his enemies, and when according to his appointment he had given the charge, *Cenon* with a great force brake upon the left battel, and the Phalanx at the same instant brake in amongst the middest of their enemies. When *Porus* saw the horsemen give the charge, he put forwards his Elephants to encounter them. but they being slow beasts, and not apt suddenly to move, were prevented by the swiftness of the horses, and their bowes stood them not in any great stead, for by reason their arrows were so long and heavie, they could not nock them on their bowes, except they first staid their bows upon the ground, and the ground was so slippery, that they could not have any perfect footing, and while they were preparing themselves to shoot, their enemies were come amongst them.

Then every man fled from the order that *Porus* had given, as it chanceth oftentimes amongst troubled minds, where fear beareth more rule then the Captains appointment; for in so many parts as their Army was divided, so many Generals became among them. Some would joyn

joyn all their battels in one, others would have them divided; ſome willed to ſtay, and others to go forwards, and incloſe their enemies about; There was no general conſultation amongſt them. *Porus* notwithſtanding accompanied with a few, with whom ſhame prevailed more then fear, aſſembled ſuch of his forces together as were diſperſed abroad, and advanced againſt his enemies, ſetting his Elephants in the front of the battel. They put the Macedons in fear, troubling with their unwonted crie not onely the horſe that naturally do fear them, but alſo amazed the men. and diſturbed their order, inſomuch that they who a little before thought themſelves Victors, looked about which way to flye and ſave themſelves, which when *Alexander* perceived, he ſent againſt the Elephants, the Agrians and Thracians, who were men light armed, and more apt to skirmiſh a far off, then to fight hand to hand. They bravely aſſaulted the Elephants and their Governours, and ſore afflicted them with the multitude of their darts and arrows that they beſtowed amongſt them, and the Phalanx came conſtantly forwards againſt them who were already in fear, but ſuch as preſſed overforward in fighting with the Elephants, procured their manifeſt deſtruction, and being trampled to death with their feet, they were an example to others, not to be over haſtie in adventuring themſelves. The moſt terrible ſight was, when the Elephants with their long trunks called *Proboſcis*, took the Macedons in their armour from the ground, and delivered them up to their Governours.

The battel was prolonged doubtfully till the day was far ſpent, the ſouldiers ſometimes flying from the Elephants, and ſometime purſuing after them, until that with a certain kind of crooked weapons called *Copidæ* (prepared for the purpoſe) they cut the Elephants upon the legs. Theſe, the Macedons had right aptly deviſed, for not onely the fear of death, but alſo the fear of a new kind of torment in death cauſed them to leave nothing unattempted. Finally, the Elephants wearied with wounds, with their violent ſtrugling did caſt their Governours to the earth, and did tear them in pieces; for they were put in ſuch fear, that they were no more hurtfull to their enemies, but driven out of the battel like ſheep.

Porus being forſaken of the greater part of his men, ceaſed not to caſt Darts, whereof he had plenty prepared upon his Elephant, amongſt them that ſurrounded him, whereby he wounded many, and by reaſon he lay open to every mans blow, he was laid

at on all parts, till he received nine wounds behind and before, through which he bled ſo much, that he had no power to caſt any more darts, but for feebleneſs, they fell out of his hands. The Elephant alſo which he did ride upon, pricked forwards with fury, made a great diſturbance amongſt the Macedons, until that his Governour ſeeing the King ſo faint that he let fall his Darts, and to be almoſt paſt his remembrance, ſtirred the beaſt to flye away, whom *Alexander* followed with all the ſpeed he could: But his horſe being thruſt through with many wounds, fell down dead under him, wherefore while he was about to change and take another, he was caſt far behind.

In the mean ſeaſon the brother of *Taxiles*, that was ſent by *Alexander* unto *Porus*, began to exhort him that he ſhould not be ſo obſtinate to prove the extremity, but rather yeeld himſelf unto the Conqueror: But he notwithſtanding that his ſtrength was almoſt decayed, and his bloud failed, yet, ſtirred up at a known voice, he ſaid, that he knew him to be the brother of *Taxiles*, a traytor to his King and his Countrey, and with that word took a dart which by chance was not fallen from him, and threw it ſo at *Taxiles* brother, that it paſſed through the middeſt of his breaſt into his back, and having ſhewed this laſt proof of his manhood, he fled again more faſt then before: But when the Elephant through many wounds that he had received fainted in like ſort, then he ſtayed, and turned his footmen towards his enemies that purſued him.

By that time *Alexander* was come near unto him, who underſtanding the obſtinacy of *Porus*, willed none to be ſpared that made reſiſtance, whereupon every man threw their Darts againſt *Porus*, and the footmen that ſtood in his defence, inſomuch that at length he was ſo oppreſſed, that he began to fall from his Elephant. Then the Indian who was his Governour, thinking that *Porus* deſired to have alighted, cauſed the beaſt after his accuſtomed manner to bend towards the earth, who ſubmitting himſelf, all the reſt as they were taught, bowed down their bodies likewiſe, which was the cauſe of *Porus* taking, and of the reſt. When *Alexander* ſaw *Porus* on the ground, he cauſed him to be ſpoiled, thinking he had been dead, and divers ran about him to pull off his Armour and his veſture, which thing when the Elephant ſaw, he began to defend his Maſter, running upon the ſpoilers, and endeavoured to lift him up again upon his back, whereupon, they all ſetting upon the Elephant ſlew him, and laid *Porus* in a cart, whom when

when *Alexander* did behold to lift up his eyes, he being moved with no hatred, but with compaſſion, ſaid unto him,

What Furie poſſeſt thee, hearing the fame of mine acts, to hazard the battel with me and my power, ſeeing *Taxiles* was ſo near an example of the clemency that I uſe to ſuch as ſubmit themſelves? To whom he made this anſwer.

Foraſmuch as I am demanded a queſtion, I will anſwer as freely as I am ſpoken unto. Knowing mine own ſtrength, and not having proved thine, I thought no man of greater power then my ſelf, but now the ſucceſs of this battel hath declared thee to be be the mightier; and yet therein I do impute to my ſelf no little felicity, that I have won the ſecond place, and am next unto thee.

He was asked moreover his opinion, after what manner he thought good the victory ſhould be uſed? Uſe it (quoth he) after ſuch ſort as this dayes fortune ſhall ſuggeſt unto thee, wherein there hath been ſufficient proof ſhewed how tranſitory is the felicity of man.

This admoniſhment availed him more then if he had ſubmitted himſelf, or made ſute for his life. For when *Alexander* ſaw the greatneſs of his courage, and his heart ſo void of fear that it could not be broken with any adverſity, he was moved not onely to give him his life, but alſo honourably to entertain him, For as long as he lay diſeaſed of his wounds, he took no leſs care for the curing of them, then if he had fought in his quarrel; and when he was once healed (contrary to that which all men looked for) he received him amongſt the number of his friends, and enlarged his Kingdome greater then it was before. There was nothing in *Alexanders* nature more perfect, or more conſtant, then that hee would ever have vertue in admiration, when it was ſuch that it deſerved true praiſe and glory, eſpecially when he ſaw the ſame in his enemy: But when it was found in any of his own men, it was ſomewhat croſſe unto him, thinking that their fame might be a deſtruction to his own greatneſſe, which he ever thought to grow greater, as they were of greatneſs whom he ſubdued.

The

The Ninth Book of

QUINTUS CURTIUS

OF

The Acts of *Alexander* The Great, King of *Macedon.*

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

Alexander rejoycing in this ſo notable a victory, whereby he ſaw the confines of the Orient opened unto him, offered up ſacrifice to the Sun, and to cauſe his ſouldiers to be more willing to go forwards in finiſhing the reſt of the wars he aſſembled them together, and (after he had commended their doings) he declared how in the laſt battel they had defeated and broken the force of the Indians power, and ſhould find from thenceforth nothing but a plentifull prey. For he ſaid that in the country whereunto he was going, the riches chiefly remained which were ſo much ſpoken of throughout the world, in reſpect wherof the ſpoils of the Perſians were but trifles, and that occaſion was now given them, not onely to fil their own houſes, but alſo *Macedonia* and *Greece* with pearls, with precious ſtones, with gold, and with Ivory. The ſouldiers being deſirous both of riches and of glory, becauſe they had never found his words vain, promiſed him to do whatſoever he would have them, whereupon he diſmiſſed them full of good hope, and ſet them about the making of ſhips, to the intent that having overrun all *Aſia*, he might viſit the Ocean ſea, and the end of the world. The mountains next at hand were plentifull of timber to make ſhips withall, in cutting down whereof the Macedons found Serpents of ſuch bigneſs, as they had not ſeen before, and alſo *Rhinocerots*, beaſts that are ſeldome found in any other place, which name was given to them by the Greeks; for in the Indian language

language they are otherwiſe called, *Alexander* builded a City upon either ſide of the river of *Hidaſpis*, which once performed he gave to every one of his Captains a Crown of gold, and a thouſand pieces of gold beſides: preferring and rewarding every one, according to their quality, and deſerving. *Abiaſares* who had ſent Embaſſadours unto *Alexander* before the battel fought with *Porus*, did ſend Embaſſadours to him now again, offering to do all things that he would appoint, ſo that he might preſerve his body at liberty; for he deſired not to live, except he might remain a King, and he thought himſelf unfit to reign after he had been once a captive. He returned anſwer to *Abiaſares*, that if his comming ſhould be grievous, he would not ſtick to viſit him in perſon. Having thus vanquiſhed *Porus*, and paſſed the river of *Hidaſpis*, he marched forwards into the inner parts of *India*, which was full of great woods, and high trees, the air very wholeſome and temperate, the ſhadow of the trees mittigating the heat of the Sun, and the plenty of Springs keeping the ground moiſt, there were alſo many Serpents ſeen, whoſe ſcales gliſtered like gold. There was nothing more dangerous then the poyſon proceeding from them, for immediately upon the ſtinging, death followed, until ſuch time as the inhabitants of the countrey ſhewed a remedy. From thence through deſarts they came unto the great River *Hidraores* whereunto there joyned a great wood; which having ſuch trees as are not wont to be ſeen in other places, was alſo full of wild Peacocks. *Alexander* removing his Camp from thence took a town by aſſault, and taking hoſtages, appointed them to pay tribute. After that he came to a great City (builded after the manner of that country) which was both well walled, and alſo invironed about with a deep moat. The inhabitants came forth againſt *Alexander*, and joyning their chariots together in a front (wherein their cuſtome was to fight) they proffered him battel. Some uſed darts, ſome ſpears, and other Pole-axes, and with great agility leaped too and from their chariots, when either they found an advantage to invade their enemies, or elſe would reſcue their fellows that were in diſtreſs. This unwonted kind of fighting put the Macedons at the firſt in fear, eſpecially being hurt a far off by their enemies, and not able to come to fight with them hand to hand. But after they had conſidered their diſordered manner, they eſteemed not their force but encloſed their enemies about, and thruſt their horſes in with pikes, and the ſooner to defeat them, they cut the traces wherewith the chariots were tied, to ſe-

parate them asunder. When they had after that manner lost eight hundred of their men, they fled again into the City, which the next day the Macedons did win by assault. Some there were that saved themselves by flying, who seeing the City lost, swam over the water, and filled all the towns thereabout with fear. They declared of what invincible force their enemies were, judging them in respect of their power, rather to be Gods then mortal men. When *Alexander* had gotten that City, he sent *Perdicas* with a part of his army to destroy the country, and committing an other part to *Eumenes* for the subduing of such as would not submit, he with the rest of his power, came unto a strong City, to which many of the inhabitants of the countrey fled. Notwithstanding that they sent to *Alexander* for peace, yet they prepared nevertheless for the war, by reason of a sedition which rose amongst them, which made them to be of divers opinions, some would rather have endured any extremity then yeeld, and others thought they were not able to make resistance, and whilest they differed so in opinions, and had no common consultation amongst themselves such as held opinion to yeeld up the City, opened the gates, and received in their enemies. And notwithstanding that *Alexander* had just cause of displeasure against the contrary faction, yet he pardoned them all, and receiving their hostages, removed towards the next City. When the Indians that stood upon the walls, beheld the hostages that were brought before the army, and perceived them to be of the same nation, they desired communication with them, who declaring both the Kings clemency and his force it did move them to deliver up their City, whose example the rest of the Cities did follow. From thence he came into the Kingdome of the Sophites, who are a nation as the Indians think most excelling in wisdom, best governed, and who have the most civil. lest conversations amongst them. The children that are there begotten, are not nourished and brought up according to the will of their Parents, but by the order of such who have the charge committed unto them to view the state of the infants. If they perceive any not apt to become active, or else wanting any of their limbs, they cause them straightwayes to be killed. They use to marry without respect of Kindred they come of, or greatnes of Parentage, making no choise but in the shape of the body, which is the thing onely esteemed amongst them. The King himself was in the chief City of that Country, against which *Alexander* brought his power. The Gates were shut, and no

man

man appeared in arms upon the walls to make any defence, wherefore he ſtood in doubt a great while, whether the City was abandoned, or whether the inhabitants had kept themſelves ſecret for ſome policy. While he remained in that expectation, ſuddenly the gate was opened, and the King (who in goodlineſs of perſon excelled all the reſt) came forth with his two ſons. He did wear a garment of gold, and purple empaled, that covered the calf of his leg, the ſandals he did wear on his feet were ſet with precious ſtones: All his arms were garniſhed with Pearls, and he had hanging at his ears two precious ſtones, which were excellent both for bigneſs and brightneſs, he had in his hand a Scepter of gold ſet with precious ſtones, called *Berilli*, which (after his ſalutation made) with humble ſubmiſsion he delivered unto *Alexander*, yeelding both himſelf, his Children, and his Kingdome into his hands. There were in that Countrey notable Dogs for the hunting of wild beaſts, but above all moſt eager on the Lyon, the King therefore to ſhew their force and quality unto *Alexander*, put four of them to a great Lyon, who ſtraightway took hold of him; Then one who was accuſtomed to that Office, took one of thoſe Dogs by the leg to pluck him off from the Lyon, and becauſe he would not loſe his hold, he cut off his leg with a ſword, but when the Dog hung nevertheleſs upon the Lyon, he was cut in ſunder by peeces, till ſuch time as he died having his teeth ſtill faſtened in the Lyons fleſh, ſuch an eagerneſs had Nature wrought in thoſe creatures, as it is committed unto memory. In the compiling of this Hiſtory, ſometimes I am enforced to write things that I can ſcarcely beleeve, for I neither dare affirm the things whereof I doubt, nor conceal ſuch things as I have received for truth. *Alexander* leaving this King within his own Kingdome, came unto the River of *Hydaſpis*, and there joyned with *Epheſtion*, who had ſubdued the Countrey thereabouts. One *Phegelas* was King of the next Nation, who commanding his ſubjects to continue the tilling of the ground as they were wont to do, met *Alexander* with rich preſents, refuſing nothing that was commanded him.

When he had tarried with him two dayes, and was determined the third day to have paſſed the river, he found therein great difficulty, by reaſon that the ſtream was ſo large and full of great ſtones. He ſtayed therefore a while to be more fully advertiſed of the ſtate of thoſe Countreys, and of all ſuch things as were neceſſary for him to know. Hee underſtood by *Phegelas*, how beyond that River there lay a deſart of

ten dayes journey, and next to that deſart the River of *Ganges*, which was the greateſt river in all the Orient. He declared to him, that beyond *Ganges* there inhabited two Nations called *Gangaridans* and *Pharaſians*, whoſe King was called *Aggrames*, who uſed to come to the field with twenty thouſand horſemen, two hundred thouſand footmen, two thouſand armed Waggons, and three thouſand Elephants which were counted of all to be the greateſt terrour. Theſe things ſeemed incredible unto *Alexander*, and therefore he enquired of *Porus* if the things were true that had been told him. Hee confirmed *Phegelas* report concerning the force of the nation, but he ſaid their King was not diſcended of noble bloud, but of the baſeſt of men, his father being a Barbour, who with great pain did get his daily bread, until he came in favour with the Queen, who preferred him to the King her husband, who was afterwards ſlain by his Treaſon; then he under a pretence to become Tutor unto the children, uſurped the Kingdome to himſelfe, and putting the children to death, did beget him that was now King, being in hatred and diſgrace with the people, as one that followed more the manners of his fathers former eſtate, than ſuch as did beſeem the dignity of a Prince. When *Alexander* heard *Porus* affirm this, he was in great trouble of mind, not that he regarded the multitude of his enemies, or the force of their Elephants, but the greatneſs of the Rivers, and the ſcituation of the Countrey, ſo difficult to enter. He thought it a hard enterpriſe to ſeek out Nations ſo far inhabiting the utter-moſt bounds of the world: Yet on the other ſide, the greedineſs of glory, and the unſatiable deſire of fame made no place to ſeem too far, nor any adventure to be over hard. He doubted alſo that the Macedons who had paſſed ſo many Countreys, and were grown old in war, would not be content to follow him over ſo many rivers, and againſt ſo many difficulties of nature lying in their way, For he judged, that ſince they abounded and were laden ſo with ſpoil, they would rather ſeek to enjoy ſuch things as they had got, then to travel any further to purchaſe more. He could not think the ſame deſire to be in his ſouldiers that was in himſelf, for he compaſſed in his mind how to get the Empire of the whole world, into which he had but yet made his entry, whereas they wearied with travel, and thinking to have paſt all peril, looked to enjoy with ſpeed the fruit of all their labour: Yet for all that, his deſire at laſt overcame his reaſon, ſo that aſſembling his army together, he ſpake unto them after this manner.

I am not ignorant (my ſouldiers) how that there are now many rumours ſpread amongſt you by the Indians, purpoſely to bring you in fear; but the vanity of their lying is not ſo new a thing, that it is able any more to deceive you. The Perſians after that manner would have made the Streights of *Cilicia*, and the plains of *Meſopotamia* terrible unto you, yea, and put you in fear of the Rivers of *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, and yet we waded over one of them, and paſſed the other by a bridge. Fame never reporteth things truly, but maketh them to be greater then indeed they are: Even our glory, though it be grown to a certain perfection, yet it is more in Fame then in effect. Which of you of late did think that you ſhould have been able to endure the Elephants, ſhewing a far off like Caſtles? Who thought I could have paſſed the river of *Hydaſpis*, when it was reported to be much greater then it was? We ſhould long ago (my ſouldiers) have fled out of *Aſia*, if tales could have cauſed us to turn our backs. Think you that the flocks of Elephants to be greater then the heards of beaſts you have ſeen in other places, ſeeing they are ſo rare in the world, ſo ſtrange to be taken, and ſo much difficulty in the making of them tame. The ſame vanity that hath reported them to you to be of ſuch numbers, hath numbred alſo the horſemen and the footmen of your adverſaries. Concerning the Rivers, the more broad they are the more gently they do run, for ſuch as are narrow and of ſmall breadth, are alwayes moſt violent in their courſe, where contrariwiſe, the broad rivers paſs their courſe more mildly. But you will peradventure ſay, that all the peril is at the landing, where your enemies ſhall wait for your arrival. Whatſoever the river be, the hazard is all one at the ſhore. But imagine that all theſe things were true, whether is it the greatneſs of the beaſts, or the multitude of the men that putteth you in fear? As concerning the Elephants, we have had experience of them of late, how more violently they rage againſt their owne party then againſt us, why ſhould we fear them, but onely make leſs the greatneſs of their bodies with ſuch weapons as we have prepared for the purpoſe? What matter is it whether they be of the like number that *Porus* had, or whether they be three thouſand, ſeeing we perceive that when two or three are wounded, the reſt begin to flye away? And foraſmuch as they cannot well be governed when they are but few, when there are ſo many thouſands together, they muſt needs be an impediment one to another, and breed a confuſion amongſt themſelves; they be ſo unwieldy by reaſon

of their huge bodies, that they be neither apt to paſs forwards, nor yet to flye: I have alwayes ſo little eſteemed them, that when I have had plenty of them I would never uſe them, knowing very well, that they be more dangerous to ſuch as imploy them, then they be to their enemies. But peradventure it is the multitude of their horſemen and footmen that move you: were you never wont to fight againſt ſuch numbers? or is it the firſt time you have encountred with diſordered multitudes? The River of *Granike* is a witneſs how invincible the power of the Macedons is againſt any multitude. And ſo is *Cilicia* that flowed with the Perſians bloud, and *Arbella*, whoſe Plains are ſtrowed with their bones. You too late begin to number the Legions of your enemies, after that with your victories you have made *Aſia* a wilderneſs: When you paſſed over the *Helleſpont* you ſhould then have conſidered your ſmall numbers. Now the Scythians do follow us, we have aid at hand from the Bactrians, & we ſupply our power with the Sogdians, yet for all that, it is not theſe men in whom I put my confidence. I have a regard unto your force, I reſerve your manhood about me as a pledge and aſſurance of my atchievements: So long as I ſtand in the field amongſt you, I will neither weigh my ſelf, nor mine enemies. Do you but ſhew an appearance that there is hope in you, and chearfulneſs, We are not now newly entered into our travels, but have paſſed all our labours, being come unto the riſing of the Sun, and to the Ocean ſea, except our own ſloth be our impediment: From thence having ſubdued the world, we ſhall return Conquerours into our Countrey. Do not you as thoſe negligent Husbandmen, that loſe their fruit after it is once ripe. The rewards of our journey are greater then our peril. The countrey into which we are now marching is rich, and of no force: Thither I purpoſe to bring you, both to win glory, and to get you ſpoil; For worthy are you to carry thoſe riches into your Countrey which the ſea doth there ſo plentifully caſt them up upon their ſhore. You be men of that vertue as to leave nothing unprovided, nothing undone: I deſire and conjure you by the glory you have gotten, in which you exceed the ſtate of men, and by all that I have deſerved of you, and you of me, in which we remain invincible, that you will not forſake me, purpoſing to viſit the end of the world, Me I ſay, that have been brought up as a child amongſt you. I will not make mention how I am your King: In other things I have commanded you, let me now intreat you once in this: It is I that make this requeſt unto you, who never brought you

you on, but I put my ſelf formoſt in the adventure and danger, and oftentimes with my own Buckler have defended my army: take not the victory out of my hands, by which (if envy be not the let) I ſhall become both equall in glory to *Hercules* and *Bacchus*. Give you aſſent to mine interceſſion, and at length break your obſtinate ſilence. Where is your ſhouting become that was wont to be a Declaration of your chearfulneſs? where are the cheerfull countenances of my Macedons? I know not you my ſouldiers & it ſeems that I am not known of you, I ſpeak, me thinks, to your deaf ears in vain, and in vain go about to ſtir up your unwilling and immoveable minds.

Notwithſtanding all theſe words, they hung down their heads towards the earth, and perſevered ſtill in ſilence. Then he proceeded.

I know not (ſaid he) wherein I have unwittingly offended you, that you will not once vouchſafe to look me in the face. I ſeem to be ſolitary, and in a wilderneſs. Is there none of you that I ſpeak unto will anſwer me, is there none at the leaſt who will deny my requeſt? What is the thing that I require, even your own glory, and your own profit? Where be they now whom I ſaw not long ago contending, who ſhould firſt take up their King when he was wounded, and now you leave me alone, you forſake me, you betray me to mine enemies. But I will not leave mine enterpriſe though I go alone, leave me alone to thoſe rivers, to thoſe beaſts, and to thoſe nations, the very names of whom you fear ſo much. The Scithians and Baſtrians ſhall go with me, who of late were mine enemies, and who now are my ſoudiers, I had rather die then be a King to be ruled, and at other mens appointment; go get you home, go I ſay, and triumph of the abandoning of your King. For I will here either obtain the victory, whereof you have diſpaired, or elſe die a death that ſhall be honourable.

Notwithſtanding what he ſaid there was not one ſouldier that would open his mouth to ſpeak, but ſtood wayting when ſome of the Princes and great Captains ſhould declare unto the King, that there remained not in them any obſtinate refuſall of the wars, but that they were exhauſted with wounds, and ſo wearied with continuall travell, that they were not able to endure any longer. As they ſtood thus aſtoniſhed and afraid in ſilence, and looking upon the ground, there began firſt a whiſpering and a rumour amongſt them, and afterwards a lamentation, and by little & little they began more manifeſtly to ſhew their complaints, the tears falling from their eys. The Kings anger was then ſo turned into

compaſſion

compaſſion, that he himſelf was not able to abſtain from tears; at length the whole aſſembly burſting out into an exceſſive weeping *Cenus* took upon him to preſs forwards towards the judgement ſeat where *Alexander* ſtood, ſignifying that he had ſomewhat to ſay. When the ſouldiers ſaw him pull his helmet from his head, (for ſo it was the cuſtome to ſpeak unto the King) they began to require him that he would deliver the cauſe of the whole army. Then *Cenus* began on this manner.

May the Gods defend us from all wicked thoughts, as I doub: not but they do: there are none of your ſouldiers, but are of the ſame mind towards you, that they have been in times paſt, if it be your pleaſure to command them to go forwards to fight, to hazard themſelves, or with their bloud to commend your name unto poſterity. And if you will needs perſevere in your opinion, though we be unarmed, naked, and without bloud, we will either come after you, or go before, as you ſhal think expedient; but if you will be content to hear your ſouldiers griefs and complaints which be not fained, but expreſſed by the utmoſt neceſſity, I humbly beſeech you then, that you would vouchſafe favourably to hear them, who conſtantly have followed your authority and fortune, and are yet ready to follow whereſoever you will appoinr. O *Alexander* with the greatneſs of your acts, you have not overcome onely your enemies, but alſo your own ſouldiers, whatſoever mans mortality is able to fulfil, that is performd by us having paſſed over ſo many ſeas and countries better known to us, then the inhabitants themſelves. We now remain almoſt in the uttermoſt end of the world, and yet for all this your purpoſe is to paſſe into another world, and ſeek out an *India* unknown to the Indians. Ye covet to pluck out the wild beaſts and Serpents out of their dens and lurking places, minding to ſearch further with your victories, then the ſun hath viſited with his beams, which truly is an imagination anſwerable to your heart, but far exceeding our capacity and power. Your manhood and courage is always increaſing, but our force is now declining, behold our bodies deſtitute of bloud pierced with ſo many wounds, and deformed with ſo many ſkars, our ſwords now are dulled, and our armour conſumed, we wear our apparel after the manner of the Perſians, becauſe our countrey garments do fail us, we degenerate into a ſtrange habit, who is he that hath a Corſlet, or horſe particular to himſelf. Examine how many of the Macedons remain amongſt us, and what remaineth to every man of the ſpoil. Being the conquerours of all men, of all men we are the pooreſt.

It

It is not abundance or exceſs that troubleth us, but the very war it ſelf: Our ammunition of War is conſumed, and yet you mind to put forth this goodly Army of yours naked unto beaſts, the multitude of whom though the Indians purpoſely do increaſe, yet by their vain report we may perceive the number to be great. But if you be abſolutely determined to paſs yet further into *India*, the Countrey that lieth Southward is not ſo deſart as the other, which being ſubdued, you may paſs to that Sea, which Nature hath appointed to bound in the world. Why do you ſeek that glory a far off, which remaineth to you ready at your hand? Here the Ocean ſea doth meet us, and if we miſtake not, we are come to the utmoſt place where your fortune leads you. I had rather ſpeak theſe things before, then behind your back; For I ſeek not ſo much to win the favour of the Souldiers, as I deſire that you ſhould rather hear the voice of them ſpeaking, then the murmur of them complaining.

When *Cenus* had made an end of his Oration, there aroſe a cry and lamentation, which in confuſed voices every where cal'd *Alexander* their King, their Father, and their Lord. Then the other Captains (and eſpecially the more ancient of them, who by reaſon of their age had the more honeſt excuſe, and greater authority) made the like requeſt, ſo that the King was not able, in that obſtinacy, either to chaſtiſe them, or aſſwage them: Therefore uncertain what to do, he leaped from the Judgement ſeat, and commanding his lodging door to be ſhut, he admitted no man to come unto him, but ſuch as were accuſtomed to be about his perſon. Two dayes he conſumed in this angry melancholy, and the third day he came forth amongſt his men, cauſing twelve Altars of ſquare ſtone to be ſet up as a Monument of his journey, and willed the trenches of his Camp to be made wider, and the places where the ſouldiers lay to be enlarged greater then ſerved for the bigneſs of their bodies, thinking by the form and ſhape of things thus increaſed, to leave a deceitfull wonder to poſterity.

From thence he returned by the way he had paſſed before, and encamped near unto the River of *Aceſines*: *Cenus* chanced there to die, whoſe death the King lamented, but yet he ſaid that for ſo few days he had made over long an Oration, as though he alone ſhould have returned into *Macedon*. By that time the Navy of ſhips which he had appointed to be made, ſtand in readineſs, and a flote, and *Memnon* in the mean ſeaſon brought him out of *Thrace* 6000. horſemen, and beſides

from *Harpalus* ſeven thouſand footmen, with twenty five thouſand arms that were wrought with ſilver and gold, which he diſtributed amongſt his men, and commanded the old to be burned, purpoſing to paſs unto the Ocean ſea with a thouſand ſhips. But before he departed, hee reconciled by affinity *Porus* and *Taxiles*, betwixt whom there was a new diſcord riſen upon their old hatred. He had obtained of them great aid, both in the making and the furniſhing of his Fleet.

During the time he was about this buſineſs, he builded two Cities, whereof he called the one *Nicea*, and the other *Bucephalon*, naming the latter by the name of his horſe that was dead. He gave order that his Elephants and carriages ſhould paſs by land, and he ſailed down the river, proceeding every day about fourty furlongs, ſo that he might alwayes land his power in ſuch places as he thought convenient. At length he came into a Countrey where the Rivers of *Hidaſpes* and *Aceſines* do joyn together, and do run from thence into the bounds of a Nation called *Sobions*. They declared that their predeceſſours came from *Hercules* Army, who being left there ſick, did inhabit the Countrey. They were cloathed in beaſts skins, uſing clubs for their weapons: And though they had left the cuſtomes of the Greeks, yet there appeared many things amongſt them, that declared from whence they were deſcended.

Here the King landed, and marched two hundred and ten furlongs within the Countrey, which he waſted, and took the chiefeſt City in the ſame. There were fourty thouſand men that ſtood in defence againſt him upon a Rivers ſide, but he paſſed the water, putting them to flight, and after they fled into the City, he wan it by force: The young men were all ſlain, and the reſt ſold as ſlaves. After that he aſſaulted another City, where he was repulſed by the great force of the defendants, and loſt many of his men: But when the inhabitants ſaw that he continued ſtill the ſiege, deſpairing of their ſafegard, they ſet fire on their houſes, and deſtroyed themſelves, their wives, and children, which fire when the Macedons quenched, they kindled the ſame again, it ſeemed a ſtrange contention, the Citizens to deſtroy their own City, and their enemies labouring to preſerve it, the wars ſo contrarily changed the Laws wrought in man by nature: The Caſtle was ſaved, wherein a Gariſon was left. *Alexander* went about this Caſtle by water, which was invironed with three of the greateſt rivers in all *India*, *Ganges* excepted, *Indus* paſſing on the North ſide, and *Aceſines* running into

Hidaſpes

Hidaſpes upon the South. Where theſe rivers met, the waves roſe like ſurges of the ſea, being full of mud, and ouze, which by the courſe of the water were driven upon the ſhore, for all that the Rivers are broad, yet the channels are but narrow, wherein the ſhips muſt paſs. The waves did riſe ſo high and thick, breaking ſometime upon the poops, and ſometime upon the ſides of the ſhips, that the Mariners began to vail their ſails; but they were ſo troubled through fear and the violent ſwiftneſs of the ſtream, that they could not order their tackling, ſo that two of their greateſt ſhips were drowned in ſight, and the ſmaller veſſels which were leſs able to be governed, were driven upon the ſhore without any harm. The King chanced upon the place where the waves ſwelled higheſt, wherewith his ſhip was ſo toſſed and traverſed, that the helm could not direct its courſe, wherefore the King fearing to be drowned, pulled off his garments, being ready to caſt himſelf into the water, & his confidents did ſwim near therabout being ready to receive him; it appeared to him doubtfull which peril was the greateſt, either to ſwim, or to continue ſtill aboard. But the Mariners laboured wonderfully with their Oares, adding all the force that lay in mans power to cut through the waves, by whoſe importunate travel the water ſeemed to divide aſunder, and to give place, ſo that at length they got out of the ſurges, and yet not able to bring the ſhip to the ſhore, daſhed upon the next flat, it appearing that the ſhips and the ſtream had fought a battel together.

Alexander having eſcaped this peril, ſet up to every River an Altar, whereupon he offered due ſacrifice, & that done, he paſt forwards thirty furlongs. From thence he came into the Countrey of the Sudricans and Mallians, who being accuſtomed to be at war among themſelves, were then for their own defence joyned in ſociety. They aſſembled in arms to the number of nine thouſand footmen, ten thouſand horſemen, and nine hundred armed Waggons, whereof when the Macedons were advertiſed, who beleeved that they had paſſed all perils, ſeeing a freſh war ariſe with a new freſh nation, they were amaz'd with a ſudden fear, and began again with ſeditious words to reprove their King: They alledged that he would lately have compelled them to paſs the River of *Ganges*, to make war upon thoſe nations inhabiting beyond the ſame, which enterpriſe though it were left, they had not for all that ended the War never the more, but rather made an exchange of a new labour, being put forth amongſt this wild nation, to make the Ocean ſea open

to him with their bloud, and to be drawn beyond the ſun and the ſtars. They were compelled (they ſaid) to viſit thoſe places that nature covered to remove from mans knowledge. They grudged that to their new armour there were new enemies raiſed up, whom if they ſhould vanquiſh and put to flight, they could not ſee what benefit they ſhould receive thereby, but onely darkneſs and obſcurity of the air, which always covered the deep ſea, repleniſhed with multitudes of monſters, wallowing in thoſe immoveable waters, in which dying nature did faint away.

The King little moved for himſelf, was much troubled for theſe paſſions of his ſouldiers. Wherefore he aſſembled them all together, declaring of how feeble a force thoſe nations were, whom they feared ſo much, and who onely remained, and were an impediment to them (having paſſed over ſo many countries) to attain to the period of their travels, and to the end of the world. He ſhewed how that in reſpect of their former fear, he had left his enterpriſe over *Ganges*, with the conqueſt of the nations inhabiting beyond the ſame, and had directed his journy this way, wheras their glory ſhall be as great, & their danger leſs, ſeeing the Ocean was in a manner within ſight, the air whereof he felt blowing in his face. He required them therefore that they would not envy the glory he ſought by paſſing the bounds of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, ſeeing that with ſo little pain they might give unto their King perpetuall fame and immortality. In doing whereof they ſhould depart out of *India* as Conquerours, whereas otherwiſe they ſhould ſeem to fly away from thence. It is the property of all multitudes, and ſpecially of men of war, to be drawn with every little motion, amongſt whom as ſedition doth ſoon ariſe, ſo it is ſoon pacified. There was never a more chearfull cry made of any army before, then the ſouldiers now made to *Alexander*, who willed him to lead them whereſoever he would, and make himſelf equal in glory unto them whoſe acts he did emulate, *Alexander* rejoycing in the willingneſs that appeared in his ſouldiers, removed ſtraightways towards his enemies who were the ſtouteſt people of all the Indians. They prepared themſelvs manfully for the wars, and choſe for their Captain, one of the Oxidracans, who was of an approved manhood; he incamping at the foot of a mountain made fires all abroad, to cauſe his number appear the greater, and went about in vain to fear the Macedons when they were at reſt, by making of alarms, with their cries and manner of howling. When the day appeared

peared *Alexander* having an aſſured confidence to obtain the victory, comanded the ſouldiers to put on their armour, and chearfully to fall in order of battel. But the Indians (whether it were for fear, or by reaſon of ſome ſedition riſen amongſt them) ſuddenly fled into the deſart mountains, whom *Alexander* followed in vain, and not able to overtake them, took their carriage. After this he came to the City of the Oxidracans whereunto great numbers were fled, as well in truſt of the ſtrength of the place, as of their own power. As *Alexander* was about to make the approach, *Demophon* his Diviner, admoniſhed him that he ſhould either defer the aſſault, or elſe not meddle with it at all, for there appeared ſigns that his life ſhould be in jeopardy. When *Alexander* had heard his words, he beheld him, and ſaid;

If any man ſhould interrupt thee when thou art buſie about thy ſcience, or conſidering of the intrails, ſhould not he ſeem unto thee to be troubleſome, and his comming to be ungratefull? Yes truly (ſaid he,) So art thou now unto me (ſaid *Alexander*.) For having ſo great actions in hand, of more moment then the intrails of beaſts, I find no greater impediment then a ſuperſticious Diviner.

And as ſoon as he had ſpoken the word, he cauſed them to rear up the ladders, and whileſt other men ſticked and ſtayed at the danger he mounted up the wall in his own perſon. The ſame was very narrow on the top, not divided with loops, (as is commonly uſed) but incloſed with one whole and continual battlement round about, which cauſed it to be the more hard to ſcale, *Alexander* therefore having no convenient place to ſtand for his defence, ſtayed upon the wal, receiving upon his target the darts that were caſt at him from all parts. His ſouldiers could not get to him they were ſo beaten from the walls by the ſhot that came from above. Yet at the laſt when they ſaw their King given up into their enemies hands, ſhame overcame their iminent danger. But their overmuch haſt became their hinderance, and was the cauſe why they could not come to the reſcue of their King, For whiles every man coveted to aſcend the ladders, they were ſo heavily laden that they brake aſunder, and ſuch as were mounted upon them fell down again, deceiving *Alexander* of his onely hope: ſo that in the ſight of all the army he ſtood deſtitute on the walls as in a deſart, without any aid or ſuccour, and had wearied his left arm (with which he held his Target) in receiving the darts thrown at him. His friends cried unto him to leap down unto them, who ſtood in a readineſs to receive him, But he giving

no ear unto them, undertook an incredible enterprise, and such a one as hath not been heard of before, deserving rather the report of rashness, then of any fame that might sound to his glory. For with a desperate leap he cast himself into the City that was ful of his enemies. For before he could recover his feet again, it was likely either he should have been slain, or taken alive. But he by chance so conveyed his body, that he fel upon his feet, and fought with such as came against him: fortune so provided, that he could not be inclosed about, by reason of an old tree, which as it had been of purpose stood near unto the wall, whose broad boughs being full of leaves covered him from above, and the greatness of the stock kept his enemies from comming at his back, and upon the forefront he received the darts that were cast against him with his target. For though there were never so many that contended with him a far off yet durst there no man come near unto him, and the boughs kept of the arrows and darts as well as his Target did.

In this extremity the greatness of *Alexanders* Fame chiefly fought for him, and next of all desperation, a great encouragement for a man to die honestly. At length through the multitude of his enemies, that continually flocked about him, both his Target was laden with shot, his Helmet was broken with stones, and his legs fainted and failed under him by reason of his continual travel, which when his enemies perceived, they without fear drew more near unto him, of whom he received two with his sword in such sort, that they fell down dead at his feet, and from that time forward none was so bold to approach so near him, but threw Darts, and shot Arrows at him a far off; He lay open to every mans blow, and yet (though with great pain) defended himself upon his knees, until such time as an Indian shot an arrow at him that was two Cubits long, which a little above his right thigh passed through his Corslet, by reason of which wound he shed so much bloud, that he let his sword fall, as one at the point of death, and therewith became so faint, that he had not strength to pluck out the arrow: Then the Indian which had hurt him came with great joy to spoil his body; but when *Alexander* felt his enemies hand upon him, moved (as it is to be thought) with despite to receive an infamy to that extremity, hee called again his spirits that were passing away, and with his sword thrust his enemie (being unarmed) through the body. When he had thus slain three of his enemies, who lay dead before him, all the rest stood amazed a far off. Then *Alexander*

ander desiring before his last breath should fail to be killed fighting, began to raise up his body upon his Target, but his strength would not serve him thereunto, and therefore he reached at a bough that hung over his head, coveting thereby to have raised himself, but his ability not suffering him, he fell downe againe upon his knees, and by a sign given with his hand, challenged his enemies if any of them durst come and fight with him. At the last *Peucestes* repulsing his enemies on another part of the walls, got into the Town, and coasting along came unto the place where the King was. When *Alexander* espied him, though he had no hope to live, yet he took his comming for a comfort to his death, and for all his feebleness began to rear up himself, then came *Timeus*, and within a while *Leonatus*, and after them *Aristonus*. When it was once published amongst the Indians, that *Alexander* was entred within the walls, they left their defence in other places, and came flocking thither, where they fiercely assailed such as stood in defence of the Kings person. *Timeus* after that he had fought notably, and received many wounds was there slain. *Peucestes* also, notwithstanding that he was stricken and wounded with their darts, yet with his Target he defended the Kings person, without any regard of himself. And *Leonatus* whiles he resisted the Indians that eagerly ran upon *Alexander*, received so sore a blow on the neck that he fell down in a sown at the Kings feet. By that time *Peucestes* became so feeble of his wounds, that he was not able to defend him any more. The last hope and refuge remained in *Aristonus*, who also was so grievously wounded, that he could not endure any longer the force of the Indians.

In the mean season the fame was spread amongst the Macedons, that the King was slain, which being a matter that should have put others in fear, stirred up their hearts, and made them the hardier, For from that time forwards, there was none that had respect of his own perill, but adventured unto the wall, and breaking down the same with pick-axes entred in at the breach, making slaughter of their enemies, of whom few stood at defence but fled away.

There was neither man, nor woman, nor infant spared. For whomsoever they met they judged him to be the person that had hurt their King, and so at length with the slaughter of the multitude, their just anger was satisfied. *Clitarchus* and *Timagenes* do write, that *Ptolomeus* who afterwards became King of *Ægypt*, was present in this encounter

counter. But he himſelf, that uſed not to deny any thing that ſtood with his own glory, did put in memory how that he was then abſent, being imployed on another enterpriſe. Such a negligence was then in thoſe who did write the antiquities of things, or ſuch a credulity, which is a fault no leſs then the other. When *Alexander* was brought into his lodging, the Chyrurgians cut off the ſtale of the ſhaft, in ſuch ſort that they moved not the head that was within the fleſh, and when they ſaw the wound bare, they perceived hooks to be on the arrow head, ſo that without the deſtruction of his body it could not be pulled out, except by inciſion they made the wound greater, and yet in that point, they feared leaſt bloud flowing too abundantly ſhould be an impediment unto them, for the head was very great, and it ſeemed to be entred far within his body. There was one *Critobulus* that was very cunning, and moſt excellent amongſt the Phyſitians and Chyrurgians, and yet in ſo dangerous an accident as this, he was fearfull and in doubt to undertake the cure, leaſt if any thing ſhould chance to the King otherwiſe then well, whileſt he remained under cure, the blame thereof might light upon his head; therefore when *Alexander* perceived by his weeping the fear he was in, and that through trouble of mind, he looked pale in the face, hee ſaid unto him:

What is it that thou lookeſt for? or why doſt thou ſtay in ridding me quickly out of this pain, at the leaſt wiſe by death, if thou canſt not otherwiſe bring it to paſs? For ſeeing my wound is incurable, why feareſt thou that any thing ſhould be laid unto thy charge?

When *Critobulus* heard his words, he either ceaſed or diſſembled his fear, and exhorted *Alexander* that he would ſuffer himſelf to be held while they pulled the Arrow head that was within his fleſh, for the leaſt motion he ſaid might be hurtfull unto him. The King would not be held, but kept his body at a ſtay without moving, in ſuch ſort as they appointed him. When they had cut the wound wider, and pulled out the head, there iſſued out ſuch aboundance of bloud, that the King fel in a ſown and a dimneſs came over his ſight, & he ſtretched out himſelf as one in the pangs of death. Then they wrought all the means they could to ſtanch the bloud, but when they perceived it would not avail, his friends began to weep and lament, thinking verily there had been no way but death. Notwithſtanding at length he ceaſed his bleeding, and recovering again his ſpirits began to know them that ſtood about him.

All

All that day and the night enſuing, the men of war ſtood in armes about the Kings lodging, confeſſing that all their lives depended upon his breath, and would not remove from thence before they underſtood that he took ſome reſt. But when they knew that he was fallen in a ſleep, they returned into the Camp, bringing unto the reſt more certain hope of his recovery. *Alexander*, about the curing of his wound, remained there ſeven days, and underſtanding that a conſtant fame of his death was ſpread abroad amongſt the Indians, he cauſed two ſhips to be faſtened together, and a lodging to be made for him in the middeſt, ſo that remainining upon the water, from both ſides of the land he might be ſeen of them that thought he had been dead. When the Indians perceived he was alive, it took away the hope that ſome had conceived upon the falſe report.

From thence he paſſed down the ſtream, leaving a diſtance between his ſhip, and the reſt of the Navie, to the intent that with the beating of the Oars, they ſhould not diſturb him of his reſt, which was neceſſary for his weak body. The fourth day after his embarking, he came into a countrey abandoned of the inhabitants, but yet plentifull both in Corn and Cattel, in which place he thought to reſt himſelf and his ſouldiers. It was a cuſtome amongſt the Macedons, that when their King was diſeaſed, the chief Princes, and the great men watched about his lodging, which cuſtome being then obſerved, they entred altogether into the chamber where *Alexander* lay; at whoſe ſudden comming he was ſomewhat amazed, eſpecially becauſe they came all together. He thought they had brought him ſome ſtrange tidings, and inquired of them if they underſtood of any new aſſembly of his enemies. Then *Craterus* that was appointed to ſpeak in the behalf of them all, ſpake unto him after this manner.

Do you think that the comming of any enemies could make us ſo carefull (though they were entred within your Camp) as we be of your health and ſafeguard, though, of all, that is the thing which you regard leaſt? though all nations conſpire againſt us with their power, though the whole world were filled full of men of war, the ſeas overſpread with ſhips, and never ſo many ſtrange beaſts brought againſt us, it conſiſteth in the preſence of your perſon to make us Conquerours. But how can any God promiſe, that you who are the light and ſtarre of *Macedonia*, can bee of any continuance? ſeeing you bee ſo deſirous to put your perſon in ſuch manifeſt perils,

not remembring that with your death you draw with you into ruine the lives of ſo many of your countreymen? Who is he that either can, or doth deſire to live after you? We are come ſo far following your fortune and authority, that, without you, none of us are able to return home again. If you were yet contending with *Darius* for the Kingdome of *Perſia*, though we all would wiſh that you would not adventure your perſon ſo perilouſly, yet in that caſe we could not marvel ſo much at your prompt reſolution, for where the danger and the benefit that enſueth thereof are equal, the fruit is the greater when the buſineſs ſucceedeth well, and the comfort is the more when the thing chanceth evil. There are none, not onely of us who are your Souldiers, but even of ſuch as were your enemies, having any underſtanding of your greatneſs, that can ſuffer ſo baſe a Town, and of ſo litt'e fame to be bought with the price of your life. My heart ſhrinks at the remembrance of the danger which we but late did ſee with our own eyes, I am amazed to rehearſe how thoſe vile hands were in a readineſs to have carried the ſpoils of your invincible perſon, if Fortune of her clemency had not preſerved and delivered you from their cruelty. So many of us as were not able to follow you, are all Traytors and forſakers of our Prince, And though it was a matter that lay not in our power, yet if it pleaſe you to note us all with reproach, there is none that will refuſe any puniſhment in the purgation of it. Notwithſtanding we would require you, that you would ſpare us for ſome other purpoſe. We will gladly go whither ſoever you will have us, we require War be it never ſo obſcure, and covet the Battel, though our fighting ſhall want fame, ſo that you will reſerve your ſelf to thoſe hazards which are correſpondent for the greatneſs of your eſtate. How ſoon doth glory vaniſh away and become of no praiſe amongſt ſuch enemies as are of no reputation? And what thing is there more unworthy then to conſume the glory you have gotten elſe where, amongſt them where your glory cannot appear?

When *Craterus* had ended his ſpeech, *Ptolomy* and the others ſpake to him to the like effect, and all at once with weeping eyes required of him, that he would not from thenceforth be any more ſo thirſty to win praiſe, but ſeeing he had got ſufficient already, he ſhould content himſelf therewith, and regard his health and ſafety, whereon their univerſal eſtate did depend. The King took ſo gratefully their loving affection, that he familiarly embraced every one of them, and after he had willed them

them to ſit, revolving in his mind more deeply their former communication, he ſaid thus unto them.

My faithfull loving friends and Countrey-men, I render you moſt hearty thanks, not onely that you prefer my ſafety before your own, but alſo that ſince the beginning of the wars you have not pretermitted any thing, wherein your love and benevolence might be ſhewed towards me, ſo that I muſt confeſs that my life was never ſo dear unto me as it is now, becauſe I deſire long to enjoy you. You are deſirous to offer your ſelves to death in my cauſe, becauſe you judge that I have deſerved that benevolence at your hands. But your imagination and mine is not after one way: You peradventure do covet to enjoy me, to reap of me continually fruits, and I meaſure not my ſelf by the continuance of my time, but by the greatneſs of my glory. I might have been content with the riches which my father left me, and, with the eaſe of my body within the bounds of *Macedon* have looked for an obſcure and ignoble old age; and yet I cannot ſee that they who live in ſloath and idleneſs can aſſure themſelves of their own deſtiny. For even ſuch as eſteem felicity in long life, are oftentimes prevented with ſudden death. But I, who number not my years but by my victories, have lived long, if I wil weigh the gifts of Fortune: For beginning mine Empire in *Macedonia*, I have *Greece* in mine own poſſeſſion, I have ſubdued *Thrace* and *Illyria*, I reign over the Tribals and the Medians, being Maſter of all *Aſia* that lyeth between *Helleſpont* and the Red Sea, and now am not far from the end of the world, the which I determined to viſit, and to lay open to men a new nature, and a new world; I paſſed out of *Aſia* into *Europe* in the moment of an hour, being but eight and twenty years of age, and having reigned but nine yeers, and I am now become the victorer of both Regions. Do you think it then meet that I ſhould now ceaſe from the purchaſe of that glory whereunto I have onely devoted my ſelf? No, I will never ceaſe, but whereſoever I ſhall have occaſion to fight, I ſhall think my ſelf to be in the Theater, where the whole world doth behold me. I will give Nobility and Fame to places that are obſcure, and will lay open to all nations thoſe Countries which Nature hath removed furtheſt from them, in doing whereof it ſhall be gratefull for me to end my life, if Fortune will have it ſo. I am come of ſuch a ſtock, that I ought to deſire many things before long life. I pray you to remember that we are come into theſe countreys, where the name of a woman is celebrated

for her vertues. What Cities did *Semiramis* build? What Nations did ſhe ſubdue? And what great works did ſhe accompliſh? We are not yet become equal unto a woman in glory, and yet you would have mee to be ſatisfied with it. Bee the Gods favourable unto our purpoſe, for there remains for us yet greater things to do. And it is the next way to make thoſe countreys which we have not yet touched to become ours, if we eſteem nothing to be of ſmall value where there is any occaſion to purchaſe glory. Let it be your care onely to preſerve me from the evil Conſpiracy of my own people, and then there are no adventures in the war ſhall put me in fear. *Philip* was more ſure in the Front of the Battel abroad, then in the Theater at home; He oftentimes avoided the force of his enemies, but he could not eſchew the violence of his own ſubjects. And if you conſider the end of other Kings, you ſhall number more that have been ſlain by their own men, then by any forreign power. But becauſe there is an occaſion now offered me to utter that which I have long conceived in my mind, it ſhall be the greateſt fruit I can receive of my travels, if my mother *Olympias*, when ſhe departeth this life might be conſecrated to immortality. If ſhe depart in my time, I will do it my ſelf. But if I ſhall be prevented by death, remember you to perform what I have determined.

Having ſpoke theſe words, he diſmiſſed his friends from him, and continued many dayes in the ſame place. Whileſt theſe things were doing in *India*, the Greek ſouldiers that had lands and habitations appointed them at *Catabactria*, through a ſedition that chanced amongſt them, rebelled againſt him, not ſo much for any hate they did bear to *Alexander*, as for fear of puniſhment. For they killed divers of their chief Rulers, and aſſembling in force together, took the Caſtle of *Bactria*, that was negligently kept, and procured the Bactrians to rebel with them.

Athenodorus was the Chief among them, who took upon him the name of a King, not ſo much for the deſire of the Kingdome, as by authority to make himſelf of power to convey himſelf and others home into his Countrey. But one *Bicon* of his own nation became his enemy, and conſpiring againſt him, did invite him to a banquet, where he was ſlain by one *Boxus Macerianus*.

The next day following, *Bicon* aſſembled the Greeks together, perſwading them that he ſlew *Athenodorus* but in his own defence, whoſe

whoſe purpoſe was to have deſtroyed him, But there were ſome that perceived his policy, and the ſuſpicion was ſpread amongſt the reſt, ſo that the Greeks fell to arms on purpoſe to ſlay *Bicon*: But ſuch as were chief, mitigated the wrath of the multitude, and contrary to his expectation he was delivered from that preſent peril. Yet he could not be ſo contented, but within a while after he conſpired againſt them that ſaved his life, whoſe falſhood being known, they took both him and *Boxus*, determining that *Boxus* ſhou'd be put to death out of hand, and that *Bicon* ſhould end his life by torments.

As they were tormenting of him, the Greek ſouldiers ſuddenly in a fury, for what cauſe it is uncertain, ran to arms, the noiſe of whom being heard by them who had the charge of *Bicon*, they did ſet him at liberty, fearing that the coyle had been raiſed for his deliverance. He, naked as he was, came running amongſt the Greeks where they were aſſembled, whoſe miſerable eſtate ſuddenly ſo changed their minds, that they willed him immediately to be ſet at liberty: By this means *Bicon* being twice delivered from death returned into his Countrey with the Greeks, abandoning the Colony whereunto he was appointed by *Alexander*, Theſe things were done in the Confines of *Bactria* and *Scythia*.

In the mean ſeaſon, the King of the two Nations, which we ſpake of before, ſent an hundred Embaſſadors unto *Alexander*, who being honourable perſonages, did ride in Waggons richly apparelled, having garments of linnen cloath embroidered with gold, and empaled with Purple. They declared that the cauſe of their comming was to yeeld themſelves, their City, their Countrey, and their liberties (which they had kept inviolately for ſo many ages) to his will and appointment, of which their ſubmiſſion the Gods (they ſaid) were authors, and not any fear, for they were contented to yeeld themſelves before they had proved their power with him. The King called a Councel, and received them under his protection, appointing them to pay ſuch Tribute as they did before pay to the Arachoſians, and beſides to ſend two thouſand five hundred horſemen to ſerve him in his wars, all which things they performed obediently. This done, he made a great Feaſt, whereunto he invited thoſe Embaſſadours, and his Lords: He uſed therein ſumptuous preparation, ordaining an hundred beds of gold to eat upon, which being ſet, a ſmall diſtance one from another, were drawn about with curtains garniſhed with Gold and Purple.

In that feaſt there was ſhewed and ſet forth all the great exceſs and voluptuouſneſs, which either by long cuſtome was uſed amongſt the Perſians, or by corruption was taken up amongſt the Macedons, the vices of both theſe nations being there mingled together. There was at that feaſt one *Dioxippus* of *Athens*, a noble Champion, and by reaſon of his excellent force well known unto the King, whom certain envious and malicious perſons, betwixt earneſt and jeaſt, did reprove ſaying, that he did nothing but fat his body like an unprofitable beaſt, and when that others went to the battel, he would anoint his body with oyl, and prepare himſelf to eat. Amongſt others that uſed evill words of deſpite againſt him, there was at the ſame feaſt one *Horratus* a Macedon, who in his drunkenneſs challenged *Dioxippus*, that if he were a man, he ſhould fight the combat with him the next day, upon life and death, where the King ſhould judge either him to be raſh, or the other too much a coward. *Dioxippus* laughing to ſcorn the pride and arrogancy of the ſouldier, accepted his proffer. The next day they were more earneſt to go unto the combat then they were before in making the challenge, when the King ſaw them ſo bent, and that they would not leave their purpoſe, he conſented to their will. There were great numbers of men aſſembled at the combat, amongſt whom there were many Grecians who favoured *Dioxippus* part. The Macedon came into the liſts armed at all points, holding in his left hand an Iron Buckler and a ſpear, and in his right hand a caſting lance, and having his ſword girt to his ſide, was furniſhed as though he ſhould have fought with many men at once. *Dioxippus* came forth anointed with oyl, with a garland upon his head, and having a red cloath wrapt about his left arm, he held in his right hand a great knotty cudgel. The diverſity of their weapons brought every man into a wonderfull expectation, For they thought it not onely a raſhneſs but a madneſs for *Dioxippus* who was naked, to incounter the other who was armed. The Macedon thinking to kill his adverſary before they ſhould come to fight hand to hand, threw at him his lance, which *Dioxippus* avoided by bending of his body, and before that he could charge his pike he leaped to him, and with his cudgel brake the ſame aſunder. When the Macedon had loſt both his weapons, he began to draw his ſword, but *Dioxippus* prevented him with a cloſe, and taking both his feet from under him, threw him upon the earth, and there plucking his ſword from his ſide, he ſet his foot upon his neck, and held up his cudgel to have

have ſtruck out his brains, if the King had not cauſed him to ſtay his hand.

This Triumph ened with diſpleaſure both unto the Macedons, and unto *Alexander* himſelf, eſpecially becauſe this thing was done in the preſence of the Indins, fearing leſt the valour of the Macedons, famed ſo much in the wold, might thereby grow into contempt. Hereupon *Alexander* grudging at *Dioxippus*, had his eares open to the accuſation of thoſe who did envie him. They, within a few dayes after, had cauſed a golden Cup purpoſely to be conveyed out of the way, which the Miniſters having imbezelled, they made complaint to *Alexander* of the loſs thereof. Oftentimes men ſhew leſs conſtancy in their countenance, then in the offence it ſelf. For in their complaint *Dioxippus* perceived by thei looks, that they noted him as the Thief, which he could not endure but parting out of the feaſt (after he had written a Letter to the King) he killed himſelf.

Alexander was very ſorry for his death; which he took for no token of repentance, but rather of indignation. For afterwards it appeared through the overmuch rejoycing of his enemies, that he had been falſly accuſed. The Embaſſadours of the Indians that were diſmiſſed home, within a few days after, returned again, preſenting unto *Alexander* three hundred horſes, one thouſand and thirty Waggons, every one drawn with four horſes, certain veſtures of linnen cloath, a thouſand Indian targets, and one hundred talents of Iron, Lyons of a rare bigneſs, and Tygers that were made tame, the skins of great Lyzards, and the ſhels of certain fiſhes.

The King then comanded *Craterus* to conduct his army along the river, whereupon he ſailed, and imbarking ſuch as were accuſtomed to accompany him, he with the ſtream paſſed into the bounds of the Malians, and from thence came unto the Sabracans, who were a nation of great power, not ruled by Kings, but by a government of the people. They had gathered together ſix thouſand footmen, and ſix thouſand horſemen, and five hundred armed Waggons, and had choſen three Captains that were approved men of war. But when ſuch as inhabited next unto the river (the banks being full of villages) ſaw all the river, ſo far as they could view, overſpred with ſhips, and the armour glittering of ſo many men of war, they were amazed with the ſtrangeneſs of the ſight, and thought that ſome army of the Gods or elſe *Bacchus* (whoſe name was famous amongſt thoſe nations) had been come amongſt

mongſt them. The cry of the men of war, with the claſhing of the oars and the ſtrange noiſe of the Marriners exhorting one another, filled full their fearfull ears. They ran therefore amongſt their country men, who had aſſembled their forces, declaring their madneſſ if they would contend with the Gods. For they ſayd the ſhips could not be numbred that carried thoſe invincible people: with which vords they put ſuch fear amongſt the men of war of their own nation, that they ſent immediately Embaſſadours to yeeld themſelves.

When he had received their ſubmiſſion, he came the fourth day into another country, the people whereof durſt no more withſtand him then the other did, and there he builded a City which he named *Alexandria*, and from thence he entred into a country, the inhabiters whereof they call Muſicans. There he underſtood by the accuſation of the Paromiſidans, that *Deſteriores* (whom *Alexander* had appointed Lievtenant amongſt them) had ruled in exceſſive pride and covetouſneſs, and therefore hee commanded him to bee put to death. And *Oxiartes* Lievtenant of the Bactrians being alſo accuſed, was not onely acquitted, but had a greater rule committed unto him.

When he had ſubdued the uttermoſt part of the Muſicans, he put a gariſon into their City, and advanced from thence into another nation of the Indians called *Preſtians*, of whom *Oxicanus* was King, who with a great power retired himſelf into a ſtrong City which *Alexander* won the third day after he began his ſiege. Upon the taking of the Town, *Oxicanus* fled into the Caſtle and ſent Embaſſadours to treat for peace. But before they were come to *Alexanders* preſence, two Towers of the Caſtle fell with a great noiſe, by the ruines whereof the Macedons got into the Caſtle, where *Oxicanus* with a few ſtanding at defence, was ſlain.

The Caſtle being razed, and all that were within, ſold as ſlaves, *Alexander* came into the bounds of *Saba*, where beſide many holds that yeelded to him, he took the ſtrongeſt City of that Country by force of a Mine. It ſeemed a wonderfull thing to the Indians, being ignorant of ſuch policies of war, for armed men to come forth of the ground in the midſt of their City, where there appeared no ſign of any way under the earth. *Clitarchus* doth write, that there were 80 thouſand Indians ſlain in that country, beſides many priſoners ſold as ſlaves. The Muſicans in the mean time rebelled, for the ſuppreſſing of whom

Python

Python was ſent thither, who took the Prince of the Nation priſoner, and brought him to *Alexander*, whom *Alexander* cauſed to be hanged upon a Croſs as the authour of the revolt, which done, he returned again to the river where he had commanded his Navy to tarry for him. The fourth day after he came to a town at the entrance into the Kingdome of *Samus*, the King whereof had newly yeelded himſelf, but the Citizens had ſhut their gates and would not be at his commandement, whoſe ſmall number *Alexander* regarded ſo little, that he ſent five hundred Agrians unto their gates to profer them skirmiſh, to the intent that by retiring they might draw them by little and little out of their ſtrength, thinking they would follow the chaſe, when they ſhould ſee their enemies flying.

The Agrians did as they were appointed, and when they had once provoked their enemies, they immediately turned their backs, and the Indians purſued them, til they came to the ambuſcado where the King lay in perſon. Then the Agrians turned, and the fight was renued ſo fiercely that of three thouſand Indians there were five hundred ſlain, and a thouſand taken, the reſt recovered the City; but the end of the victory was not ſo pleaſant as the beginning: for the Indians had ſo invenomed their arrows, that ſuch as were hurt died of their wounds. And the Phyſitians could not deviſe the cauſe of ſo ſtrange a death; for even the lighteſt hurts were uncurable. The Indians truſted that *Alexander* through his raſhneſs might have come within that danger, who by chance fighting amongſt the formoſt eſcaped unhurt.

Ptolomy was lightly wounded upon the left ſhoulder, and being in a greater danger then the greatneſs of his wound ſhewed, cauſed the King to be carefull of him. For he was near of kin unto him, and ſome thought that *Philip* was his father, but it is certain that his mother was *Philip* his concubine. He was one of them that had the charge of the Kings perſon, a valiant man of war, and yet more famous in the arts of peace. He was moderate both in his apparel and living, liberal, eaſie to be ſpoken too, and without any ſuch height of mind as is accuſtomed to be in men deſcended of the royal bloud, by reaſon of which qualities, it is uncertain whether he was better beloved of the King, or of the ſouldiers.

This was the firſt occaſion he had to prove how the minds of men were affectionate towards him, for even in that danger, the Macedons began to divine of his fortune, whereunto afterwards he aſcended.

They had no leſs care of *Ptolomy* then of the King himſelf: who uſed him ſo familiarly, that when he was wearied either with travel or care of mind, would ſit for his ſolace with *Ptolomy*, and at that time cauſed his bed to be brought into his own chamber. When *Ptolomy* was laid there, he fell ſuddenly in a ſound ſleep, in the which it ſeemed that a Dragon offered to him an herb out of his mouth, for the healing of his wound, and the taking away of the venome. When he awaked, he declared his dream, and ſhewed both the colour and faſhion of the herb, affirming that he could know it, if any man could find it out. This herb was ſought by ſo many, that at length it was found, and being put upon the wound, the pain ſtraightways ceaſed, and the skar within ſhort ſpace was cloſed. When the Indians were diſappointed of the hope they had conceived that way, they yeelded themſelves and their City. From thence *Alexander* went into the next country called *Parthalia*, the King whereof, called *Meris* left the City, and fled into the mountains, ſo that *Alexander* took the ſame, finding a wonderfull prey of ſheep, of cattel, and of corn. There he took Pylots that knew the river, and came unto an Iſland which ſtood in the midſt of the ſtream, where he was compelled to remain the longer, becauſe the Pylots being negligently kept, were eſcaped away. He ſent therefore to ſeek out others, but when he could find not any, there entred a vehement deſire into his head to viſit without any guide the Ocean ſea, and the end of the world, committing his own life, and the lives of ſo many thouſands, to a river which none of them did know. They ſailed as men ignorant of all places they came unto, either how far the ſea was diſtant from them, what nations did inhabit the countries thereabouts, or whether the mouth of the river were navigable for gallies or not. In all theſe things they were led by a blind and doubtfull imagination, having no other comfort in their raſh enterpriſe, but onely that they truſted to their continual felicity. When they had gone forwards 400 furlongs, the ſhip-maſters told the King that they felt the air of the ſea, whereby he knew the Ocean was at hand. Thereat he rejoiced greatly and exhorted the Marriners, that they would with all the power they could, make way with their oars, to bring him to the ſight of the end of the world, which he had ſo long deſired.

Now (ſaid he) our glory is perfect, when our manhood is ſuch that nothing can ſtay us: now the world is come into our hands without any further hazard of war or ſhedding of bloud. Now ſince the bounds

that

that nature hath wrought be ſo near at hand, we ſhall ſhortly ſee things unknown ſaving to the immortal Gods. Yet notwithſtanding he ſet ſome men upon the land to take ſome of the countrey men, by whom he truſted to have known the certainty of the truth. When they ſearched out their cottages, at length they found out ſome of the wiſeſt who were hidden, who being demanded how far the ſea was from them, they made anſwer, that they never heard it named, but they ſaid that, within three days ſayling, they ſhould come unto a place, where a brackiſh water did corrupt the freſh; by which words the Marriners underſtood that they meant the ſea, of the nature whereof the people were ignorant. Then the Marriners rowed chearfully, their deſire growing ever the greater, as they approached near unto the place which they hoped to be the end of their travel. On the third day they came where the ſea and the river joyned together, mixing with a ſmall flood their wares that were of a contrary nature. Then becauſe the tide was ſomewhat againſt them, they halled towards another Iſland ſtanding in the midſt of the river, which being an eaſie place to land at, the Macedons ran about to ſeek victuals, in ſurety as they thought, being ignorant of the chance that came upon them.

About three of the clock according to their ordinary courſe, the tide came rowling in from the ſea, and with his force did drive the ſtream backward, which at the firſt being but ſtayed, was afterwards ſo vehemently repulſed, that it cauſed the water to return backward with greater fury then a ſwift ſtream is accuſtomed to run. The common ſort that knew not the nature of the Ocean, thought the ſame to be a wonderfull thing, and that it had been a token ſent to them of the Gods wrath, and while they were in that imagination, the ſea ſwelling more and more overflowed the land which they ſaw before dry, and as the water mounted, the ſhips and all the navy was diſperſed here and there. Such as were upon land were amazed with the ſuddenneſs of the event, & ran from al parts in great fear unto their ſhips. But in a tumult haſt doth always hurt, and giveth impediment. Some there were that went about to let forward their ſhips, others forbad rowing, & removed not at all, otherwhiles they made haſt away, and would not tarry to take in their company, & they moving but ſlowly could make no way. Some, when they ſaw them preſs on ſhipboard in ſuch throngs, for fear of taking in too much, would receive none at all, ſo that both the multitude & the ſmal number were an equal impediment unto the haſt they made,

made. The cry that ſome made in bidding men tarry, and the noiſe that others made in willing them to go forwards, with their voyces that diſfered, and agreed not in one effect, took away the uſe both of their ſight and hearing. The Mariners could not help it, whoſe words in the tumult could not be heard, nor their commandements obſerved amongſt men in fear and out of order. The ſhips therefore did beat one againſt the other, the oars craſhed aſunder, and every ſhip either thruſt forward or did put back one another. No man would have judged it to be one Fleet, but rather two Navies fighting a battel together upon the ſea. The ſterns did ſtrike againſt the poop, ſuch as went before troubled them that came after, & at laſt the words of men in their choler came unto blows; the tide had now over flown all the Plains thereabout, ſo that nothing appeared above the waters ſave the hills, which ſeemed ſo many little Iſlands whereunto many did ſwim, and left their ſhips for fear.

Whileſt the navy was thus diſperſed abroad and partly floated as they hapned in any valley, and partly ſtuck in the ground as they lighted on the flats; there came ſuddenly another terrour greater then the firſt. For when the ſea began to ebbe, the water fell back again into his wonted courſe, with ſo great violence, as it came forwards, and reſtored the ſight of the land which before was drowned as in a deep ſea. The ſhips then forſaken of the water fell upon their ſides, and the fields were ſtrowed with broken boords and peeces of oars. The ſouldiers durſt not go forth to land, and yet were in doubt to tarry on ſhip-board, looking ever for ſome greater miſchief to come, then what they ſaw preſent, or paſt. They could ſcarcely beleeve what they ſaw and ſuffered, which was a ſhipwrack upon the land and a ſea within a river. They thought no end could come of this calamity, for they knew not that the ſea ſhould ſhortly return again, and ſet their ſhips afloat. And therefore they propoſed to themſelves famine and all extremities. The Monſters alſo of the ſea, which, after the water was paſt were left on dry land, did put them in great fear.

The night approached and diſpair brought the King into a great agony. Yet no care could ſo overcome his heart that was invincible, but he watched all night, and ſent horſemen to the mouth of the river to bring him word when the tide came. He cauſed two ſhips that were broken to be amended, and ſuch as were overwhelmed to be hoiſed up again, warning all men to lie in wait and be in a readineſs again the water ſhould ariſe. When he had conſumed all that night

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in watching and giving exhortation unto his men, ſtraightwayes the horſemen returned on a main gallop, and the tide at their heels, which mildly increaſing began to raiſe again their ſhips, and when it had once over-flown the banks, the whole Navy began to move. Then all the coaſt rebounded with the unmeaſurable rejoycing that the ſouldiers and Marriners made for their ſafeguard, whereof they were before in diſpair.

When they ſaw the danger paſt, they inquired one of another, by what reaſon the ſea could ſo ſoon ebbe and flow, and debated the nature of that element, which one while diſagreed, and another while was obedient and ſubject to the time. The King conjecturing by the ſigns he had ſeen before, that after the Sun riſing the tide would ſerve to his purpoſe, at midnight with a few ſhips did ſail down the ſtream, and paſſing out at the mouth of the river, he entred four hundred furlongs into the ſea, and being maſter of his deſires, he there made ſacrifice to the Gods of the ſea, who were worſhipped in thoſe countries, and returned again unto his Navy. On the next day he returned backwards againſt the ſtream, and arrived at a ſalt lake, the nature whereof, being unknowne, deceived many that raſhly entred into the water; for their bodies by and by became full of ſcabs, which diſeaſe taken by ſome, the contagion thereof infected many other. But they found that oyl was a remedy for the ſame.

Alexander lying ſtil with his army, waiting for the ſpring of the year, ſent *Leonatus* before by land where he thought to paſs, to dig wels, becauſe the country was very dry, and deſtitute of water. In the mean ſeaſon he builded many Cities, and commanded *Nearchus* and *Oniſicritus* (that were moſt expert in the diſcipline of ſea ſervice) with his ſtrongeſt ſhips to paſs into the Ocean, and to go ſo far forwards as they might with ſurety, to underſtand the nature of the ſea, and willed them at their return to land either within that river or elſe within *Euphrates*. When the winter was well paſſed he burned thoſe ſhips which were unſerviceable, and conveyed his army by land. After nine incampings he came into the country of the Arabitans, and from thence in nine days came into the countrey of the Gedroſians who being a free nation, by a general counſell had amongſt them, yeelded themſelves, of whom there was not any thing demanded ſaving onely victuals.

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The fifth day he came into a River, which the Countreymen call *Barabon*, beyond which there lay a barren Countrey, greatly deſtitute of water, through the which he paſſed, and entred amongſt the Horitans. There he betook the greater part of his Army to *Epheſtion*, and divided the ſouldiers that were light armed to *Ptolomy* and *Leonatus*, and ſo they waſted the Countrey with three armies at once, and took a great booty. *Ptolomy* turned towards the Sea, *Leonatus* on the other hand, and *Alexander* himſelf in the middeſt. In that Countrey he builded alſo a City, and brought men out of *Arrachoſia* to inhabite it. From thence he came amongſt the Indians, who lying upon the Sea-coaſt do inhabite a great Countrey that is waſte and deſart. They uſe no Trafique, commerce, nor converſation with any of their neighbours: but the deſartneſs of their Countrey made them ſavage, being wild of their own nature. Their nails and hair are never cut, they made their houſes of the ſhels of Fiſhes, and of other things that the Sea caſteth up: and being clad with the skins of wild beaſts, do feed on fiſhes dried with the ſunne, and ſuch Monſters as the Sea doth caſt upon the Land.

Here the Macedons conſumed their victuals, and firſt endured ſcarcity, and afterwards extream hunger, ſearching out in every place the roots of the Palms, which is the onely tree that groweth in that Countrey. But when that kind of nouriſhment failed them, they killed their carriage beaſts, and abſtained not from their horſes, inſomuch that lacking beaſts to bear their baggage, they were enforced to conſume with fire thoſe ſpoils of their enemies which had cauſed them to travel into the uttermoſt bounds of the Orient. After their famine there followed a peſtilence, for the unaccuſtomed nouriſhment of the unwholeſome meats they did eat, with the travel of their journy, and the anxiety of their minds, did ſpread diſeaſes amongſt them in ſuch ſort, that they could neither continue in a place, nor yet go forwards without great deſtruction. Hunger oppreſſed them when they tarried, and the peſtilence was more vehement ever as they went forwards. The fields therefore were ſtrown full of men that were half dead and half alive, and ſuch as were but half ſick were not able to follow the Army, it marched with ſo great a ſpeed. For every man thought ſo much to further his own ſafety by how much he made haſt to get before his fellows.

Such as fainted and could not follow, deſired both ſuch as they knew

knew and knew not, to help them forwards, but they had no beasts whereupon to set them, and the souldiers (who had the imminent mischief that fell upon other men represented before their own eyes) could hardly bear their own arms, wherefore when they were called upon, they would not vouchsafe once to look back, fear had so taken away all compassion from them. Then they who were left behind cryed upon the Gods and their King for help, alledging that they were all of one country and Religion, which was a band for one to releive another, But when they had cryed long in vain unto their deaf ears, through desperation they raged, wishing the like end to their friends and companions which they themselves endured.

The King possessed both with sorrow and shame, because he and none else should be the cause of so great a destruction amongst his men, did write to *Pratapharnes*, ruler of the Parthenians to send to him upon Camels, victuals in readiness to be eaten, and certified the Princes of the Countreys thereabout of his necessity, who did slack no time, but made provision according to his will. Thus his Army delivered onely from famine, was brought within the bounds of the Gedrosians; and for as much as the same was a Countrey fertile of all things, he thought good to stay there a while, with rest to somerecover again his feeble souldiers.

There he received Letters from *Leonatus*, that he had won the victory of the Horitans, who encountred him with eight thousand foootmen, and five hundred horsemen. He was advertised from *Craterus*, that he had taken and put in hold *Ozines* and *Zariaspes*, two Noble men of *Persia*, who went about to rebel. *Alexander* also understanding that *Memnon* was dead, gave the charge of the Countrey whereof he had the rule, unto *Sibortius*, and afterwards matched into *Carmania*. *Aspastes* was Governour of that Nation, who being suspected of innovation, whiles *Alexander* was in *India*, met him on the way; But *Alexander* dissembling his wrath entertained him gently, and gave unto him his accustomed honour, till such time as he had better proof of the accusation which was laid against him.

When the Princes of *India*, according to his appointment, had sent out from all their Countreys great plenty of horses, and other beasts both for saddle and draught, he gave carriage again to all men that wanted, and restored their armour to the former beautifulness and excellency: For they were come into a Countrey joyning upon *Persia*, which both

both was aboundant in all things, and alſo quietly eſtabliſhed under his jubjection. He thought it then a time to counterfeit *Bacchus* in the glory and fame which he got amongſt thoſe nations. Whether it were a triumph that *Bacchus* firſt inſtituted, or a paſtime uſed of him in drunkennels, *Alexander* was determined to counterfeit his acts, having his mind elevated above the eſtate of man. He commanded therefore all the villages through the which he was to paſſe, to be ſtrowed with flowers and garlands, and wine to be ſet forth at every mans doore, for all men that would drink. He cauſed Waggons alſo to be made of largeneſs able to carry great numbers, and decked the ſame with precious furniture, the King went formoſt with his friends, and next to them his guard, wearing upon their heads garlands of flowers, ſome playing upon flutes, ſome upon Harps; every one generally through the army adorned his Chariot according to his ability and ſubſtance, & conſuming the whole day in banquetting, did hang their rich armour beſide them. *Alexander* with ſuch as he called to his company was carried in a chariot, laden with cups of gold and other golden veſſels, and with his drunken army he marched thus ſeven days together, in oſtentation of the prey they had gotten, wherein they ſhewed ſuch diſſoluteneſs, that if one thouſand of the ſubdued people had given them the onſet, they might have taken them priſoners, and led them away in triumph. But fortune which hath appointed both fame and eſtimation to things, turned all this diſorder unto his glory; for both the age that was then, and the poſterity that came after, marvelled, and took it for a wonder, that he durſt go ſo diſſolutely among thoſe nations, not yet eſtabliſhed under his Empire, the barbarous people reputing his raſhneſs for an aſſured confidence. But ſhedding of bloud inſued after this triumph. For Prince *Aſpaſtis* (ſpoken of before) was commanded to be put to death, ſo that his exceſs in voluptuouſneſs, was no let unto his cruelty, nor his cruelty an impediment to his voluptuouſneſs.

The

The Tenth Book of

QUINTUS CURTIUS

Of

The Acts of *Alexander* The Great, King of *Macedon.*

Bout the ſame time *Cleander*, *Sitacles*, *Agathon*, and *Heracon*, who by the Kings appointment had put *Parmenio* to death, returned to him bringing with them 5000. footmen, and a thouſand horſemen. There were many accuſers that followed them out of the Province, whereof they had the governance, their behaviour being ſuch, that the acceptable ſervice they had done to *Alexander* in killing of *Parmenio*, could be no ſatisfaction for the the multitude of offences they had committed. They uſed ſuch an univerſall ſpoil, not abſtaining from the Temples, nor from conſecrated things. The Virgins alſo and great Ladies of the Country whom they had raviſhed, complained of them, lamenting the ſhame they had ſuſtained. They uſed ſuch covetouſneſs and inordinate luſt in their authority, that it cauſed the name of the Macedons to be hated amongſt thoſe nations. And yet amongſt all the reſt, *Cleanders* offence was moſt horrible, who raviſhing a virgin of noble Parentage, gave her to his ſlave to uſe as his concubine.

The greater part of *Alexanders* friends were not ſo much offended

with their cruelty and foul acts whereof they are accuſed as with the remembrance of *Parmenio* his death, which they kept in ſilence, leaſt the rehearſall thereof might have procured them favour with the King, rejoycing that the Kings juſtice was fallen upon the Miniſters of his wrath, and that no power or authority got by evill means, could have any long continuance.

Alexander hearing the cauſe, ſaid that the accuſers overſlipt the greateſt offence, which was the diſpair of his own ſafety; for if they had either hoped or believed that he ſhould ever have returned out of *India*, they durſt never (he ſaid) have committed any ſuch hainous offences. He commanded them therefore to priſon, and ſix hundred ſouldiers to death, who had been the Miniſters of their cruelty, and they alſo were executed the ſame day, whom *Craterus* had brought as authors of the rebellion, out of *Perſia*. Within a while after, *Nearchus* and *Oneſicritus*, who had been commanded by the King to ſearch the Ocean ſea, returned to him, declaring ſome diſcoveries by knowledge, and ſome by report, they ſhewed him of an Iſland not far from the mouth of *Indus*, which abounded with gold, and had no breed of horſes amongſt them, wherefore the inhabitants would give a talent for every horſe brought from the main land. They alſo told of great and monſtrous fiſhes (whereof thoſe ſeas were full) which carried down with the tide, would ſhew their bodies as big as a great ſhip, and follow the whole Fleet with a terrible noiſe, and when they dived underneath the water, they troubled the ſeas, as it had been a ſhipwrack. Theſe were things they had ſeen, the reſt they received by the report of the inhabitants, as how the Red ſea took his name of King *Erithrus*, and not of the colour of the water. They ſhewed alſo another river not far from the main land, growing full of Palm-trees where was a great wood, and in the midſt thereof ſtood a Pillar, where King *Erithrus* was buried, with an inſcription on him of ſuch letters as were uſed in that Countrey.

They added beſides, that ſuch veſſels as carried the Merchants, and the vaſſals of the army, through the covtouſneſs of the gold which had been reported unto them, were landed in the Iſland by the Mariners, and were never ſeen after. Theſe words moved *Alexander* much, and put him in a great deſire, to get more certain knowledge of thoſe parts, and therefore he commanded them again to ſea, willing that they ſhould coaſt the land, till they came within the river of *Euphrates*, and from

from thence to come up to *Babylon* againſt the ſtream. The things were infinite that he compaſſed in his head, for he determined after he had brought the ſea coaſt of the *Orient* under his ſubjection, to go out of *Syria* into *Affrick*, for the envy he bare to the Carthaginians, he purpoſed from thence to paſſe over the deſarts of *Numidia* towards the *Gades*, where he underſtood by fame that *Hercules* had planted his pillars, and ſo directing his journey through *Spain* (the which the Greeks of the river *Iberus* call *Iberia*) to go over the Alps into *Italy*, till he ſhould come to the coaſt where the next paſſage was unto *Epyrus*. For this intent he gave commandement to his Officers in *Meſopotamia*, that they ſhould cut down materials in Mount *Libanus*, and convey the ſame to *Capſagas*, a City in *Syria*, and there make gallies of ſuch greatneſs, that every one of them might be able to carry 7 oars upon a bank, and from thence he willed them to be conveyed unto *Babylon*. He alſo ſent commandement to the Kings of *Cyprus*, to furniſh them with Iron, Hemp, and Sails.

Whiles theſe things were in doing, he received letters from *Porus* and *Taxiles*, ſignifying that *Abiazares* was dead of a diſeaſe, and that *Philip* his Lieutenant in thoſe parts was ſlain, they being put to death who were the actors of it. *Alexander* in the place of *Philip* preferred *Endemon* that was Captain of the Thracians, and gave *Abiazares* Kingdome to his ſon. From thence he came to *Paſargades* a Country of the Perſians whereof *Orſines* was Lord, who in nobility and riches exceeded all other men in thoſe parts, as one that derived his pedigree from *Cyrus*, that once was King of *Perſia*. The riches his Predeceſſours left him, were great, and he by a long continuance in his inheritance and authority had much increaſed the ſame.

He met *Alexander* comming thitherwards, and preſented both him and his friends with gifts of ſundry ſorts, which were a multitude of young horſes, ready to be backed, Chariots wrought with gold and ſilver, precious moveables, excellent Pearls, and ſparkling Stones, weighty Veſſels of Gold, Robes of Purple, and four thouſand Talents of coyned Silver: But this his liberality was the occaſion of his death; for when he had preſented all the Kings friends with gifts above their deſire, he honoured not *Bagoas* the Eunuch with any gifts at all, whom *Alexander* eſpecially favoured for the uſe of his body, by which he did oblige the King unto him: There were therefore ſome that gave him admonition how much *Alexander* eſteemed *Bagoas*, but he anſwered them,

That his cuſtome was to honour the Kings friends, and not his minions, and that it was not the manner of the Perſians to have any in eſtimation, who did pollute themſelves in ſo ſhameſull an abuſe.

When his words were reported to the Eunuch, he uſed the power which he had got by diſhoneſt arts, to the deſtruction of that noble and innocent man; for he did ſuborn certain lewd perſons of *Orſines* country, to bring in falſe accuſations againſt him, which he warned them to preſent at ſuch a time as he ſhould appoint unto them. In the mean ſeaſon, whenſoever *Bagoas* got the King alone, he would fill his credulous ears with tales againſt *Orſines*, ever diſſembling the cauſe of his diſpleaſure, leaſt thereby he might looſe the reputation of his falſe report.

The King had not *Orſines* yet in ſuſpicion of ſuch a crime as afterwards he was charged with; but he began to grow with him out of eſtimation. His accuſation was ever ſo ſecret, that he could never get knowledge of the perill, that was privily wrought againſt him. This importunate favourite in his vile converſation had with the King was mindfull ever of the malice he bare to *Orſines*, whom he would not ceaſe to bring in ſuſpicion of covetouſneſs and rebellion, ſo oft as he ſaw *Alexander* bent to uſe him familiarly. And now the falſe accuſations were in readineſs, which he had prepared to the deſtruction of the innocent, whoſe fatall deſtiny which did approach could not be avoided.

It chanced that *Alexander* cauſed the Tomb wherein *Cirus* body was buried, to be opened, pretending to uſe certain ceremonies for the dead, but thinking in very deed that his tomb had been full of gold and ſilver, whereof there was a conſtant fame amongſt the Perſians. But when it was viewed, there was nothing found but a rotten Target, two Scithian bows, and a Scimiter. *Alexander* cauſed the coffin wherein *Cirus* body was laid, to be covered with the garment which he himſelf accuſtomed to wear, and ſet thereupon a crown of gold, marvelling that the ſumptuouſnes uſed in burial of ſuch a King, indued with ſo great riches, was no more then in the burial of an ordinary perſon. When this thing was in doing, *Bagoas* ſtood next unto *Alexandr*, and beholding him in the face, ſaid unto him.

What marvell is it though the ſepulchres of Kings be empty, when Lords houſes are not able to hold the gold that they have taken out from thence? For my part I never ſaw this Tomb before: but

I

I have heard *Darius* report, that there were three thouſand Talents buried with *Cyrus*. From hence (ſaid he) proceeded *Orſines* liberality, in winning your favour by the gift of that, which he knew he could not keep.

When he had thus ſtirred up *Alexanders* wrath againſt *Orſines*, he preſented them whom he had ſuborned to accuſe him, by whoſe report, and by *Bagoas* informations, *Alexander* was ſo incenſed againſt *Orſines*, that he was put in priſon before he could ſuſpect he was accuſed. The Eunuch was not contented with the deſtruction of this innocent man, but at his death laid violent hands upon him, unto whom *Orſines* ſaid, I have heard that women in times paſt have reigned, and born great Rule in *Aſia*, but it is now a more ſtrange thing, that an Eunuch ſhould have the Empire in his hands. This was the moſt Noble of all the Perſians: He was not onely an innocent man in this matter, but ſuch a one as did bear ſingular affection unto *Alexander*, and had ſhewed great liberality to him and his. At the ſame time *Phradates*, who was ſuſpected to have gone about to make himſelf King, was put to death.

Alexander began then to be much enclined to the ſhedding of bloud, and to be credulous in hearing of falſe reports, of ſuch a force is proſperity to change a mans nature, wherein few men have conſideration of vertue. Thus he who a little before would not condemn *Lincestes Alexander*, when he was accuſed by two witneſſes, and ſuffered divers of more mean eſtate to be acquitted, though it vexed him that they ſeemed not guilty to other men; thus, he who beſtowed Kingdoms upon his enemies whom he had ſubdued, was in the end ſo much altered from his former inclination, that againſt his own appetite, at the will of a vile minion, he would give Kingdomes unto ſome, and take away again the lives from others.

About the ſame time he received letters of the Affairs in *Europe*, whereby he underſtood that whiles he was in *India*, *Zopyrius* his Lieutenant in *Thrace* made an expedition againſt the Getes, where by ſtorms and tempeſts that ſuddenly roſe upon him, he was deſtroyed and all his army. When *Suthes* underſtood the defeat of that army, he procured the Odriſians that were his country men to revolt, ſo that all *Thrace* was in a manner loſt thereby, and *Greece* it ſelf ſtood in no great ſafety.

The writers of the acts of *Alexander* the Great, make mention in this place of *Calanus* an Indian, a man very famous in Philoſophy, who by the perſwaſion of King *Taxiles*, followed *Alexander*, and ended his life after a ſtrange manner: When he had lived threeſcore and thirteen years without any diſeaſe, at his comming into *Perſia* he felt a pain in his belly, by which conjecturing that the end of his life was come, leſt ſuch a perpetual felicity as he had lived in ſhould be interrupted by any long diſeaſe, or tormented with the multitude of medicines which Phyſicians do uſe to adminiſter, he required *Alexander* that he would cauſe a fire to be made, that he might burn himſelf in the ſame.

The King began to diſſwade him from his purpoſe, thinking to have withdrawn him from the execution of ſo horrible an act, but when he perceived with what ſtedfaſtneſs & conſtancy he upheld his reſolution, and that there was no way to keep him any longer in life, he ſuffered a fire to be made according to his will, into which *Calanus* did ride on horſeback, making firſt his prayer to the Gods of his Countrey; and taking the Macedons by the hands, required them that they would ſpend that day pleaſantly in banquetting with their King, whom not long after he ſaid he ſhould ſee at *Babilon*.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, he went chearfully into the fire, and carrying his body in a comely poſture, he kept ſtill the ſame geſture & countenance at his death which he was accuſtomed to do in his life. When the fire flamed the Trumpets ſounded, and the men of war made ſuch a ſhout as they were accuſtomed to do when they joyned in battel with their enemies, which rebounded to the skies, the Elephants alſo made a terrible noiſe. Theſe are the things which grave writers do teſtifie of *Calanus*, who was a notable example of an invincible mind, and conſtantly bent to endure adverſity.

From thence *Alexander* advanced to *Suſa*, where he took to wife, *Statira*, the eldeſt daughter of *Darius*, whoſe youngeſt ſiſter called *Dyrpetis*, he gave in marriage unto *Epheſtion*, and beſtowed fourſcore Virgins of the nobleſt of all the nations he had conquered, to the principal Macedons, and to the chief of his friends, becauſe he would not ſeem alone to begin ſo ſtrange a cuſtome. Theſe marriages were celebrated after the Perſian manner, & a magnificent feaſt prepared at the eſpouſals, at which there were nine thouſand gueſts preſent, to every one of whom, *Alexander* gave a drinking Cup of gold. At the ſame

time

time the Rulers of the Cities, whom *Alexander* had ſubdued and builded, ſent unto him thirty thouſand young ſouldiers that were all of one age, furniſhed with fair armour, and fit for any enterpriſe of the war, whom he called *Epigoni*, that is to ſay, ſucceſſours. The Macedons at their comming ſeemed to be ſomewhat appalled, who wearied with long war, uſed often in their aſſemblies to murmur, and ſpeak mutinous words againſt their King, for which cauſe he prepared theſe ſouldiers to reſtrain the arrogancy of the others, and gave to them great benevolences.

Harpalus, to whom the King had committed the charge of the treaſure, and revennues at *Babilon*, hearing of the acts that *Alexander* had done in ſubduing the greater part of the Kings of *India*, and his ſucceſs to be ſo proſperous that nothing could withſtand him, knowing the unſatiable deſire that was in *Alexander* to viſit far Countreys, and to increaſe his glory, thought it ſhould be a hard matter for him to return to *Babilon* again. Wherefore he gave himſelf to delight and riot, miſuſing many that were noble and free women, and wallowed in all kind of voluptuouſneſs, inſomuch that he ſent for a famous Harlot, called *Potenice*, to whom he both gave many great and Princely gifts while ſhe was alive, and alſo after her death ſpent thirty Talents on her Tomb.

Having in theſe and ſuch other voluptuous vanities conſumed a great part of the treaſure, when he underſtood that *Alexander* was come out of *India*, and did execute juſtice upon his Officers, who miſuſed them over whom they had the rule (by reaſon he was privie to his foul conſcience) he feared the like might fall on himſelf: And therefore gathering together five thouſand Talents, and ſix thouſand mercenary ſouldiers, he took his way towards *Athens*, no man being willing to receive him by the way. When he came to *Tenaron* (where a great number of the mercenary Greeks who had been diſcharged out of *Aſia* were aſſembled) he left his ſouldiers there, and went to *Athens* with his money.

When he was come thither, a great number of the Citizens flocked about him, but more for love of his money, then for any reſpect unto himſelf, but eſpecially the Oratours, whom by ſmall rewards he eaſily corrupted to defend his cauſe before the people. But afterwards at a general aſſembly, he was commanded to depart the City, and ſo he returned again among the Greek ſouldiers, by whom he was ſlain. After that,

that, with thirty ſhips they paſſed over to *Sunium*, which is a point of land in the territory of *Athens*, from whence they determined to have entred into the Haven of the City.

Theſe things being known, *Alexander* who was much moved as well againſt the Athenians, as againſt *Harpalus*, prepared a Navie to make war in perſon immediately againſt them. As he was buſied about it, he underſtood by ſecret Letters, both how *Harpalus* had been in *Athens*, and had corrupted with mony the chief of the City, and alſo how afterwards by a Councel of the people he was commanded to depart from thence, and returning amongſt the Greek ſouldiers, he was betrayed and ſlain by one of them. Theſe news greatly rejoyced *Alexander*, whereby he had occaſion to leave off his journey into *Europe*, but he ſent commandement to all the Cities of *Greece*, that they ſhould receive all their baniſhed men, ſuch onely excepted as had commited any murther on their own Countreymen. Although the Greeks knew this to be the breach of their laws and liberties, yet as men that durſt not diſobey his will, they called home their baniſhed men, and reſtored to ſuch of them their goods who did remain. Onely the Athenians, who evermore defended obſtinately the liberties of their Common-wealth, and who had not been accuſtomed to live under the obedience of any King, but under the Laws and Cuſtomes of their Countrey, would not permit that ſuch dregs of men ſhould live amongſt them, but did drive them out of their bounds, ready to ſuffer any thing rather then to receive ſuch who ſometime were the Raſcal and Vomit of all their City, and the Refuſe of all the Outlaries.

The time was come that *Alexander* now intended to diſmiſſe his old ſouldiers, and to ſend them home into their Countrey, but he willed firſt thirteen thouſand footmen, and two thouſand horſemen to be choſen out, to remain ſtill in *Aſia*, which he judged might be kept with a ſmall army, becauſe (he thought) the many gariſons he had planted, and the Cities which he had newly builded and filled with inhabitants, would be able to aw ſuch as ſhould attempt any rebellion. But before he would diſtinguiſh who ſhould depart, and who ſhould remain, he cauſed a Proclamation to be made that all ſouldiers ſhould declare their debts, (wherewith he perceived many of them to be heavily burthened) and though it did riſe through their own exceſſe, yet he was determined to diſcharge every man. But the ſouldiers thinking it had

had been but a deviſe, to try out the prodigall from the reſt, delayed the time, and brought not in their Declarations.

The King perceived ſhame to be the cauſe thereof, and not diſobedience or obſtinacy. And therfore he cauſed tables to be ſet up through his Camp, and ten thouſand talents to be brought forth, of all which treaſure when their debts were payed, according to the juſt accompt, there remained of talents no more but 130; Whereby it appeared that they who were the conquerours of ſo many rich nations, brought out of *Aſia* more glory then ſpoil. After it was once known that ſome ſhould be diſmiſſed, and ſome remain behind, they thought the King would have eſtabliſhed his Kingdome perpetually in *Aſia*. Wherefore like mad men, and unmindfull of all diſcipline of war, they filled the Camp full of ſeditious words, and came to the King more arrogantly, and with greater violence then ever they did before, and all with one voice, required to be diſcharged, ſhewing him the hoarineſs of their hair, and their faces deformed with ſcars. And herein they could not be ſtayed, either by chaſtiſement of their officers, or by any reverence of their King, but when he would have ſpoken unto them, they would not ſuffer him to be heard, but diſturbed his ſpeech with their tumultuous cry, and violent throng, proteſting that they would never move one foot forwards to any place, except it were towards their own country. After ſome hours, (becauſe they thought that *Alexander* would encline to their purpoſe) they kept ſilence, and ſtood in expectation what hee would do. Then *Alexander* ſpake thus unto them.

What meaneth this ſo ſudden a conſternation of your minds, and this ſo petulant and ſo wild an inſolence, I am afraid to ſpeak unto you, you have ſo manifeſtly broken your obedience towards me. I am now become a King at the appointment of my people, you have neither left me the liberty to ſpeak unto you, nor to know you, nor to exhort you, nor to behold you. Being determined to ſend ſome into their countrey, and to bring the reſt with me ſhortly after, I ſee thoſe who are to be diſmiſſed, to cry out and mutiny as well as thoſe who I appoint to ſtay with me. What is the meaning of this? the cry is all alike every where, although the cauſe is divers, I would fain know whether they complain that depart, or they that are to tarry?

When he had ſpoken thoſe words, they cried all (as it had been with one mouth) *All, All, All.* Then he ſaid.

Truly it cannot be ſo, nor can I be perſwaded that you ſhould all be grieved for the cauſe you declare ſeeing it toucheth not the greateſt part of you, for I have appointed more to depart then to remain with me. There muſt needs be ſomething of worſe conſequence then appeareth, that you ſhould turn away from me. When was it ever ſeen, that a whole army hath forſaken their King? the ſlaves run not from their maſters all at once, but there is always a ſhame in ſome to leave him, when the reſt forſake him. But why do I forget that you are deſperately mad, why do I go about to cure thoſe that are uncurable? I condemn from henceforth all the good hope that ever I conceived of you, and am determined to deal no more with you, as with my ſouldiers, (ſeeing you will not be mine) but as with men ungratefull and unmindfull of my goodneſs. The cauſe of this your madneſs is even the abundance of your proſperity, whereby you forget your old eſtate, from which you are delivered through my benefit. You are men worthy to have ſpent your lives in your former beggery, ſeeing you can better bear your adverſity then proſperous fortune. Behold, you who not long ago were tributaries to the Illirians and the Perſians do now diſdain *Aſia*, and the ſpoils of ſo many nations. You, who under *Philip* did go half naked, do now contemn robes of gold and purple. Your eyes cannot endure any longer to behold the light of gold and ſilver. You deſire again your wooden diſhes, your targets made of wicker, and your ſwords covered with ruſt: I received you in this gallant condition, with five hundred talents in debt, when all my exchequer exceeded not the value of forty Talents. This was the foundation of my acts wherewith (without envy be it ſpoken) I have ſubdued the greateſt part of the world, are you weary of *Aſia* which hath miniſtred unto you occaſion of ſo much glory, that by the greatneſs of your acts you are made equall unto the Gods? do you all make ſuch haſt into *Europe* to forſake me that am your King? The greater part of you ſhould have lacked mony to bear you home, if I had not paid your debts. Are you not aſhamed, who have plundred all *Aſia*, to carry the ſpoils of ſo many nations within your bellies onely? and to return home to your wives & children, not being able to ſhew any of the rewards of your victory? many of ye in the way ſhal be compelled to pawn your armour, if you forſake this good hope which you might receive at my hand. Theſe be the goodly men of war that I ſhal want, who of all their riches have nothing left them, but onely their concubines. The way lies open for your departure,

departure: Get you gone out of my ſight, I with the Perſians, will defend your backs when you are gone. I will hold none of you; Deliver mine eyes you ungratefull country-men, of the ſight of you. Shall your Parents and children (think you) receive you with joy, when they ſhall ſee you return without your King? Shall they covet to meet ſuch as are fugitives, and forſakers of their Prince? I ſhall truly triumph at your departure, and whereſoever you ſhall be, I ſhall deſire to be revenged, honouring always, and preferring above you, thoſe whom you have left here with me. Now you ſhall know of what force an army is that is deſtitute of a King, and what moment doth conſiſt in me alone.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, he leaped in a fury from the judgement ſeat, and ran into the throng of the armed men, where he took with his own hands ſuch as had mutinied moſt againſt him, of whom there being not any that durſt make reſiſtance, he delivered thirteen to his guard to be ſafely kept. Who would have thought that an aſſembly who a little before had ſpoken unto their Prince with ſuch audacity and rigour, could have been ſo ſuddenly appalled with fear, and ſeeing their companions led to execution, durſt none of them make the leaſt attempt to oppoſe him. But the inordinate liberty they uſed before, and ſeditious violence, was then ſo ſtayed, that not one of them durſt reſiſt the King running amongſt them, but were all aſtonied for fear, and ſtood like men amazed with doubtfull imaginations, looking what he would determine of themſelves. Whether it were the reverence they bare to his name, becauſe the nations that live under Kings are accuſtomed to honour them as Gods, or whether it were the Majeſty of his perſon, or elſe his own aſſured conſtancy, executing his authority with ſuch violence, that did put them in ſuch fear, but they ſhewed a notable example of patience; for they onely not ſtirred at the execution of their companions, whom they knew to be put to death in the night time, but were more diligent in performing their duties then they were before, pretermitting nothing, pertaining to obedience, & the natural affection towards their Prince. For on the next day they came to the Court, and being not ſuffered to enter, but all ſhut out ſaving the ſouldiers of *Aſia*, they made a ſorrowfull cry and lamentation which ſpread over all the Camp, proteſting that they would not live, if the King continued ſtill in his wrath. But he that was obſtinate in all things which he had once conceived in his head, having commanded

the Macedons to keep ſtill in their Camp, did aſſemble the ſtrange ſouldiers together, to whom by an interpretour he made this Oration.

At what time I came firſt out of *Europe* into *Aſia*, my truſt was to bring many noble nations and a great power of men under my Empire and Dominion, wherein I was not deceived. For beſides that Fame reported you to be men of valour, I have found in you one thing more, which is an incomparable obedience, fidelity, and affection towards your Prince, I thought voluptuouſneſs had overflown all vertues amongſt you, and that through your great felicity, you had been drowned in pleaſures. But I find otherwiſe, and perceive that none do obſerve the diſcipline and order of the wars better then you, nor execute the ſame with more activity and reſolution, and being manfull and valiant men, you imbrace fidelity as well as fortitude. This I do but now confeſs, but I knew it long ago, which was the cauſe that I choſe you out of the youth of ſo many nations, to be my ſouldiers, and did incorporate you amongſt mine own people, cauſing you to wear the ſame armour; but your obedience towards authority appeareth much better in you, then in them. Therefore I have joyned to my ſelf in marriage the daughter of *Oxatres* who is a Perſian, not diſdaining to beget children upon a captive. And afterwards deſiring aboundantly to encreaſe the iſſue of my body, I took to wife the daughter of *Darius*, and was the author that my near friends ſhould beget children upon their captives, minding by this holy covenant to exclude the difference between the Conquerour and the conquered. Wherefore you muſt now think that you are not ſouldiers by me adopted, but more natural, and that *Aſia* and *Europe* is one Kingdome without any difference. I have given unto you armour after the manner of the Macedons. I have brought all ſtrangeneſs and novelty into a cuſtome, and now you are both my country men and my ſouldiers, in all things receiving one form and faſhion. I have not thought it unſeemly for the Perſians to ſhadow the cuſtomes of the Macedons nor for the Macedons to counterfeit the Perſians ſeeing they all ought to be under one law and cuſtome, who ſhould live under one King.

When he had made this oration, he committed the cuſtody of his perſon unto the Perſians, he made them of his guard, and his officers

cers of juſtice by whom when thoſe Macedons who had given the occaſion of this ſedition were led bound unto execution, one of them who was more ancient, and of greater eſtimation then the reſt ſpake after this manner.

How long will you give place unto your will, in executing us after this ſtrange manner? your ſouldiers and your own country men are drawen to execution by their own priſoners, before their cauſe is heard. If you have judged us worthy of death, at leaſt wiſe change the miniſters of your wrath.

This was a good admoniſhment if he had been patient to hear the truth. But his wrath was grown into a fury, ſo that when he ſaw thoſe who had the charge of them to ſtay a little, as willing to reſpite the execution, he cauſed the priſoners to be tumbled into the river, and there drowned. Notwithſtanding the cruelty of this puniſhment, the ſouldiers were not moved to any ſedition, but repaired in great numbers to their Captains, and unto ſuch as were near about the King, requiring that if there yet remained any infected with the ſame offence, that he ſhould command them to be put to death, proffering their bodies to be puniſhed and executed at his own will.

After it was known that the dignity of being the Kings Lievtenant was given unto the Perſians, and that they were diſtributed into divers orders with ſuch names given unto them as were unto the Macedons, and that the Macedons were rejected with reproach, they could not then longer contein themſelves, nor the doleur they had conceived in their hearts, but with a great throng preſſed to the Court, wearing onely their nethermoſt garments, and leaving their weapons without the gate in token of repentance, there with weeping, and all tokens of humility, they made requeſt to be admitted to the Kings preſence, beſeeching that he would vouchſafe to pardon their offence, and to pacifie his wrath with the death of ſo many of them as he ſhould think good, rather then to ſuffer them to live in ſuch a reproach, which except he would releaſe, they proteſted they would never depart out of the place. When theſe things were declared unto *Alexander*, he cauſed the Court gates to be opened, and came forth amongſt them, where beholding their lamentation and repentance, and the poſture of their miſerable affliction, he could not abſtain to weep a long time with them, and in conſideration of their modeſty forgave them their former offences, & after he had moderately told them their faults, & again comforted

them with gentle words, he diſcharged many from the ſervice of the wars, and ſent them home, magnificently rewarded, writing to *Antipater* his Lievtenant in *Macedonia*, that he ſhould aſſign them the chief places in the Theaters at triumphs and publick ſhews, where they ſhould ſit with garlands on their heads, willing that their children after their deaths, ſhould enjoy their fathers pay. He appointed *Craterus* to be their ruler, to whom alſo in the place of *Antipater* he had committed the government of *Macedonia*, *Theſſalia*, and *Thracia*; *Antipater* being ſent for to repair unto him with a ſupply of young ſouldiers.

Alexander had received Letters before, both from him and *Olympias* his Mother, by which there appeared to be ſome diſcontents between them: For his Mother accuſed *Antipater* that he went about to make himſelf King, and *Antipater* did write how *Olympias* did many things otherwiſe then did become her. *Antipater* did take his calling away ſo grievouſly to heart, that he conſpired thereupon to poyſon *Alexander*, who having accompliſhed what he reſolved to have done, advanced to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, to ſet in order the neceſſary affairs of his Empire, and there ordained ſolemn Triumphs and Feaſtings.

It chanced that *Epheſtion*, whom the King entirely loved, and uſed in the place of a brother, did die at the ſame time of a Fever, Whoſe death *Alexander* took more heavily then may well be credited, committing in his grief many things that were unbeſeeming the Majeſty of a Prince: He commanded *Epheſtions* Phyſitian to be hanged, as though he had died through his negligence. He lay imbracing of the dead body, and could hardly by taken away by his friends, but continued his ſorrow night and day.

There be many other things written on this ſubject, which are ſcarcely credible, but it is certain, that he commanded ſacrifice to be made unto him as to a God, and conſumed in his Burial, and in making of his Tomb, above twelve thouſand Talents. As he was returning to *Babilon*, the Caldean Prophets met him on the way, exhorting him not to enter into the City, for it was ſignified, that if he went thither at that time, he ſhould be in great peril of his life. Notwithſtanding, he regarded not their admonitions, but went forward in his journey, according as he appointed, for he underſtood that Embaſſadors were come thither from all Regions, and tarried for his comming, the terrour

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of his name was ſo ſpread through the world, that all Nations ſhewed an obſequiouſneſs towards him, as though he had been appointed to be their King: This cauſed him to make haſt to *Babilon*, to keep there as it were a Parliament of the whole World. When he was come thither, he received the Ambaſſadours gently, and afterwards diſmiſſed them home again.

There was about the ſame time a Banquet prepared at the houſe of one *Theſſalus Medius*, whereunto the King (being invited) came with ſuch as were appointed to keep him company: But he had no ſooner drunk of *Hercules* Cup, but that he gave a deep groan, as though he had been ſtruck to the heart, and being carried out of the feaſt half dead, he was ſo tormented with pain, that he required a ſword to have killed himſelf. His friends did publiſh abroad that drunkenneſſe was the cauſe of his diſeaſe; but in very deed it was prepared treaſon, the infamy whereof, the power of his ſucceſſours did oppreſſe. The poyſon prepared long before, was delivered by *Antipater* unto his ſon *Caſſander*, who with his brethren *Philip* and *Iolla*, were accuſtomed to ſerve the King at meat, he was warned that he ſhould not commit the ſaid poyſon to any perſon, except it were to *Theſſalus*, or to his own brothers *Philip* and *Iolla*, who were both accuſtomed to take the aſſay of the Kings cup, and having the poyſon ready in cold water, mixed it with wine, after they had taſted it. When the fourth day was come, the ſouldiers partly becauſe they ſuſpected he was dead, and partly becauſe they could not endure to want long his ſight, came ſorrowfully unto the Court, deſiring to ſee the King, who by his commandement were admitted unto his preſence, by ſuch as had the charge of his perſon.

When they beheld him lying in that eſtate, they made great ſorrow and lamentation, for he ſeemed not to them to be the ſame, whom they were accuſtomed to behold, but rather a dead corps. If their grief were great, the ſorrow of them, who ſtood next to the bed, appeared much greater, whom when *Alexander* beheld to lament after that ſort, he ſaid unto them,

When I ſhall depart you ſhall find a King worthy of ſuch men as you are.

It is a thing incredible to ſpeak how that during the the ſouldiers of his whole army came to viſit him, he never altered his countenance nor geſture, but continued in that preſence, which he gave unto the firſt, unto the

the laſt man. When he had diſmiſſed the multitude, as though he had been diſcharged of all debt of life, he lay down again to reſt his weak body, and his voice beginning to fail him, he commanded his friends to draw near unto him. Then taking his ring from his finger he delivered it to *Perdiccas*, and gave therewith a commandement that his body ſhould be conveyed to *Hammon*. They demanded to whom he would leave his Kingdome? he ſaid, to the worthieſt. By which words it appeared, that he foreſaw the contention that was like to enſue upon his death. *Perdiccas* moreover demanded of him, when he would have divine honours done unto him; at ſuch time, ſaid he, as you ſhall find your ſelves in felicity.

Theſe were the laſt words *Alexander* ſpake, and ſhortly after he died. Immediately after his death, the Court was full of howling and lamenting, and, by and by, as it had been in a deſart place, all things were huſh, and a ſorrowfull ſilence was ſpread over all, grief being converted into imagination, what the event ſhould be. The young men of the nobility that were accuſtomed about the Kings perſon could not bear the greatneſs of their dolour nor keep themſelves within compaſs of the Court, but ran about as men out of their wits, whereby their City was filled with ſighs and tears, and no kind of lamentation pretermitted, that ſorrow is accuſtomed to adminiſter in ſuch a caſe. Such therefore as were without the Court, as well Macedons as others came running thither, where the Conquerours from the conquered could not be diſcerned, ſo equall and mutuall was their ſorrow.

The Perſians called upon their juſt and merciſull Lord, and the Macedons made invocation unto him that was ſo juſt and gracious a King, and thus there was a certain contention of ſorrow amongſt them. They did not onely uſe the words of grief and heavineſs, but alſo of murmuring and indignation, that ſo young a Prince being in the flower of his age, and ſo fortunate in ſucceſs, ſhould by the envy of the Gods be ſo taken out of this world. They called to remembrance what a chearfullneſs they had always ſeen in his countenance, both when he led them to the battel, or when he beſieged or aſſaulted any City, or when hee would give any commendation to the valiant in any aſſembly.

Then the Macedons repented that ever they had denied him divine honours, confeſſing themſelves both wicked and ungratefull in depri-

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ving him of any name whereof he was worthy. And when they had continued long in the veneration and desire of him that was dead, they began to lament their own condition, who comming out of *Macedon* were beyond the river *Euphrates*, amongst the middest of their enemies, who unwillingly received their new government. They saw themselves left destitute, and the Empire without any certain heir; for want of whom every one would go about to draw the power of the state into his own private interest. Then they began to conceive and foresee the civill wars that did ensue, and that they should be inforced to shed their bloud again, not for the conquest of *Asia*, but for the title of some such a one as would go about to make himself King, by which their old scars should break out again into new wounds. Moreover, that such who by reason of their age had been discharged from the wars by their noble and righteous King, should now be inforced to spend their lives in the quarrel of one who was but his souldier.

Whiles they were in these imaginations the night came on, and encreased their terrour. The men of war watched in their arms, and the Babilonians looked over the walls, peeping out from the tops of their houses, to discover some certainty how the affairs passed. There was not one that durst kindle any light, and because the use of the eye did fail, they laid their ears to hear the rumour and words that were spoken, and many times they were afraid, when no cause of fear was, and when they met together in the narrow streets, or dark lanes, they would be amazed, and suspect each other as enemies. The Persians after their accustomed manner, cut short their hair, and with their wives and children lamented the death of *Alexander* in mourning garments with unfained affection, not as a Conquerour, or one that lately had been their enemy, but as their right and natural King; for they being accustomed to live under a King could think no man more worthy then himself to rule over them.

This sorrow was not contained within the walls of the City, but straight ways it spread over all the Countrey thereabouts. And the fame of so great a mischief flying throughout *Asia*, brought soon tidings thereof unto *Darius* mother. She at the first report did tear asunder the garment she did wear, and putting on mourning apparel, she pulled her hair, & fel down groveling upon the earth, one of her Neeces sate by her mourning the death of *Ephestion*, who not long before had married her & in an universal heavines bewailed the cause of her private sorrow; but

Syſigambis alone ſuſtained all their miſeries, and bewailed both her own condition, and her Neeces, her freſh ſorrow cauſing her to call to mind things paſt: A man would have judged by her behaviour that *Darius* had been newly ſlain, or that ſhe had now celebrated the Funerals of two Sons together. She did not onely lament the dead, but ſorrowed alſo for the living.

Who ſhall now (ſaid ſhe) take care of theſe young women? Or who can be like unto *Alexander*? Now we are taken priſoners again: We are newly fallen again from our dignity and eſtate. After *Darius* death we found one to defend us, but now ſince *Alexander* is gone who will have reſpect of us?

Among theſe things, ſhe called to mind how *Occhus* the cruel King had ſlain her father, and fourſcore of her brethren in one day, and that of ſix children born of her body, there was but one of them left alive. She ſaw that Fortune had advanced *Darius*, and cauſed him to flouriſh for a time, to the intent ſhe might end his life by greater cruelty. Finally, ſhe was ſo overcome with ſorrow, that ſhe covered her head, turning her ſelf from her Neece and Nephew that ſate at her feet, and abſtaining both from meat, and from beholding the light, ſhe ended her life the fifth day after ſhe was determined to die. This her death was a great argument of the clemency which *Alexander* had ſhewed towards her, and of his juſtice towards all the captives, ſeeing that after *Darius* death ſhe could endure to live, but after *Alexanders* departure, ſhe was aſhamed to continue any longer.

Conſider *Alexander* juſtly, and we muſt impute all his Vertues to his own nature, and his Vices either to his youth, or to the greatneſs of his Fortune. There was in him an incredible force of courage, and an exceeding ſufferance of travel. He was indued with manhood, excelling not onely Kings, but alſo ſuch as had no other vertue or quality. He was of ſuch liberality, that oftentimes he gave greater things then the receivers could have wiſhed for of God. The multitude of Kingdomes that he gave in gift, and reſtored to ſuch from whom he had taken them by force, was a token of his clemency towards them whom he had ſubdued. He ſhewed a perpetual contempt of death, the fear whereof doth amaze other men. And as there was in him a greater deſire of glory and worldly praiſe then reaſon would admit, ſo was it tollerable in ſo young a man, performing ſo great and wonderfull atchievements. The reverence and affection he bare towards his Parents,

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appeared in the pupoſe he had to conſecrate his mother *Olympias* to immortality, and in that ſo ſtrictly he revenged his father *Philips* death, How gentle was he towards his friends? and how benevolent towards his ſouldiers? He had a wiſdome equal to the greatneſs of his heart, and ſuch a policy and foreſight, as ſo young years were ſcarcely able to receive. A meaſure he had in immoderate pleaſures, and luſted leſs then nature deſired, uſing no pleaſure but what was lawfull; Theſe indeed were wonderfull great gifts and vertues, but in that he compared himſelf to the Gods, covetting divine honours, and beleeving the Oracles that perſwaded ſuch things, that he was offended with them that would not worſhip him, and given more vehemently to wrath then was expedient, that he altered his habite and apparel into the faſhion of ſtrangers, and counterfeited the cuſtome of thoſe whom he had ſubdued and deſpiſed before his victory, theſe were vices to be attributed to the greatneſs of his fortune; As the heat of youth ſtirred him unto anger, and to the deſire of drinking, ſo age might have mitigated again thoſe diſtempers. Notwithſtanding it muſt needs be confeſſed, that though he prevailed much by his Vertue, yet ought he to impute more unto his fortune, which onely of all mortal men he had in his own power. How often did ſhe deliver him from the point of death? How did ſhe protect him with perpetual felicity, when he had raſhly brought himſelf into peril? And when ſhe had decreed an end to his glory, ſhe even then was content to finiſh his life, ſtaying his fatal deſtiny until he had ſubdued the Orient, viſited the Ocean, and fulfilled all that mans mortality was able to perform.

To this ſo great a King, and ſo noble a Conquerour, a Succeſſour was wanting, and it was a task of too great an importance for any one man to take it upon him; His name and renown was ſo great amongſt all Nations, that they were counted moſt noble who could be partakers (though it were never ſo little) of his proſperous Fortune. But to return again to *Babilon*, from whence this digreſſion hath been made.

They who had the guard and cuſtody of *Alexanders* perſon, called into the Court ſuch as had been his chief friends and Captains of the men of war, after whom there followed a great multitude of Souldiers, deſiring to know who ſhould be ſucceſſour unto *Alexander*. The throng of the Souldiers was ſuch, that many of the Captains were excluded, and could not enter into the Court. A Proclamation there-

fore was made, whereby al men were forbidden to enter except ſuch as were called by name. But becauſe their commandement ſeemed to want authority, it was but little regarded, and the multitude at the firſt began to make a dolfull cry and lamentation. But immediately the deſire they had to underſtand the event, ſtopped their lamentation, and procured ſilence. Then *Perdiccas* brought forth in ſight of all the people the Kings Chair of eſtate, wherein *Alexanders* Diadem, his royal habiliments, and his armour was laid, amongſt which ornaments, *Perdiccas* alſo layed down the Kings ſignet, delivered to him the day before, at the ſight whereof they began to weep, and to renue again their ſorrow; then ſaid *Perdiccas*.

Lo here is the Ring wherewith he was accuſtomed to ſeal ſuch things as pertained to the government of his Empire, which as he delivered to me, I ſo reſtore it again to you. And although no affliction can be deviſed by the Gods (were they never ſo much offended) comparable to this, yet conſidering the greatneſs of the acts which he hath done, we muſt think that as the Gods ſent ſuch a man ſo to reign in the world (his time being expired that was appointed) they have now called him back again to the place from whence he came. For as much therefore, as nothing more of him remaineth capable of immortality, let us perform the Rites pertaining to his body, remembring in what City we are, amongſt what kind of people, and what a King and Governour we have loſt. We muſt conſider and conſult how to maintain our conqueſt amongſt thoſe men over whom it is gotten; for the doing whereof, it is needfull for us to have an head. But whether the ſame ſhall be one or many it doth conſiſt in you. You are not ignorant that a multitude of men of war is a body without life. Six moneths are now paſſed, ſince *Roxane* was conceived with child, we deſire of the Gods that ſhe may bring forth a ſon, which may enjoy this Kingdome when he cometh to age. In the mean ſeaſon appoint you by whom you will be governed.

When *Perdiccas* had ſpoken theſe words, *Nearchus* roſe up, and ſaid.

There is no man can deny, but that it were requiſite that the ſucceſſion ſhould continue in the bloud royall, but to look for a King that is not yet born, and to paſſe over one that is born already, is neither expedient for ſuch men as the Macedons are, nor yet doth ſerve the neceſſi-

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ty of the time. There is a ſon whom *Alexander* begot on *Barſines*, what ſhould hinder why the Diadem may not be ſet upon his head?

Nearchus diſcourſe was acceptable to no man, therfore the Souldiers according to their cuſtome, claſhed their ſpears againſt their targets, and continued making a noiſe. And when he would not forſake his opinion, but obſtinately maintained the ſame, it had almoſt bred a ſedition, which thing being perceived by *Ptolomy*, he ſpake after this manner.

Neither the ſon of *Roxane* nor of *Barſines*, is an iſſue meet to reign over the Macedons, whoſe names we ſhould be aſhamed to mention within *Europe*, their mothers being captives. Have we ſubdued the Perſians to that end, to become ſubject to ſuch as are deſcended of them? That was it which *Darius* and *Xerxes*, being Kings of *Perſia*, did labour for in vain, with ſo many millions of men of war, and with ſo many Navies. This therefore is my opinion, that *Alexanders* Chair of Eſtate be ſet in the middeſt of his Court, and that all ſuch as were accuſtomed to be of counſel with him, aſſemble together, ſo often as any buſineſs requireth to be conſulted on, and that the Captains and Rulers of the Army be obedient to that order whereunto the greateſt number do aſſent.

There were ſome agreed with *Ptolomy*, but few with *Perdiccas*. Then *Ariſtonus* ſpake on this manner.

When *Alexander* was demanded to whom he would leave his Kingdome, he willed the worthieſt to be choſen: Whom judged he worthy but *Perdiccas*, to whom he delivered his Ring? This was not done at ſuch a time as he was alone, but when all his friends were preſent, he did caſt his eyes amongſt them, and at length choſe out one to whom he delivered it. For this cauſe I think it right, that the Kingdom be committed unto *Perdiccas*.

Many agreed to his opinion, ſo that the aſſembly cryed out to *Perdiccas*, that he ſhould come forth amongſt them and take up the Kings Signet. But he ſtayed between ambition and modeſty, thinking the more modeſty he uſed in obtaining the thing he ſo much deſired, they would be ſo much the more earneſt to proffer it to him. When he had ſtood a good while at a ſtay, doubting what to do, at length he drew back, and ſtood behind them who ſate next to him. When *Meleager*, who was one of the Captains, ſaw the ſtay that *Perdiccas* made, he took courage on his ſeeming unwillingneſs, and ſaid:

Neither the Gods will permit, nor men will ſuffer, that *Alexanders* fortune, and the weight of ſo great an Empire ſhould reſt upon his ſhoulders, I will not rehearſe that there be many preſent more noble then he is, and of greater worth, without whoſe conſent no ſuch thing may be ſuffered to be done. There is no difference whether you make *Perdiccas* King or the ſon of *Roxane*, whenſoever he ſhall be born; *Perdiccas* goeth about to make himſelf King, under pretence to be Governour to the Infant, this is the cauſe why no King can pleaſe him, but ſuch as is not yet born. And in ſo great a haſt as all we make to have a King (which haſt is both juſt and neceſſary for the preſervation of our eſtate,) he onely doth wait for the expiring of times and moneths, imagining that ſhe ſhould bring forth a man child, which I think you doubt not but he is already prepared to counterfeit, and exchange if need be. If it were ſo in very deed that *Alexander* had appointed him to be our King, I am of opinion that the ſame thing onely (of all the things he hath commanded) ought not to be obſerved or performed. Why do not you run rather to ſeiz upon the treaſure, ſeeing that the people ought to inherit it.

When he ſpoken thoſe words, he brake through the preſs of armed men, and they who gave way to him, followed him to the ſpoil, whereof he had made mention. The greedineſs of the treaſure cauſed a great band of armed men to flock about *Meleager*, and the aſſembly began to fall into ſedition, which had grown to a greater inconvenience, if a mean ſouldier (whom very few did know) had not ſtepped forth, and ſpoken to the multitude.

What need we (ſaid he) grow into a civill war ſeeing we have a King already, whom you ſeek to find, the ſame is *Aridæus* the ſon of *Philip*, and brother to *Alexander* who lately was our King, born and brought up with him in the ſame religion & ceremonies that we do uſe, who being the only heir, I marvel by what undeſert of his he is neglected, or what he hath done, why he ſhould not enjoy his right deſcended unto him by the univerſal law of the world? If you ſeek one to be compared to *Alexander*, you ſhall never find him. If you will have ſuch a one as ſhall bee next unto *Alexander*, this is onely he.

When theſe words were heard amongſt the multitude, they kept ſilence at the firſt, as if they had beene commanded by authority; but afterwards they cried with one voice that *Aridæus* ſhould bee called,

called, and that they were worthy death, who made any assembly without him. Then *Python* being bedewed with teares began to speak.

Now I perceive (said he) *Alexanders* case to be most miserable, seeing he is defrauded of the fruit, which such as were his souldiers and subjects should bring forth at such a time as this is. For looking onely on the name and memory of your King, you are utterly blind in other things.

His words tended directly to the reproof of *Aridæus*, that was his elected King. But his speech procured more hatred to the speaker, then contempt to the young man against whom it was intended. For the compassion they had of *Aridæus* caused them the more to favour his cause, and therefore they declared with a general acclamation, that they would not suffer any to reign over them, but him onely who was born to so great a hope, and still they called for *Aridæus* to come forth amongst them. Whereupon *Meleager* (for the malice and envy he bare unto *Perdiccas*) took an occasion boldly to bring him into the assembly, whom the multitude saluted as King, and called him *Philip*.

This was the voice of the people but the Nobility were of another mind, amongst whom *Python* took upon him to put *Perdiccas* plot in execution, and appointed *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* (descended both of the bloud royal) to be Governours of the son which should be born of *Roxane*: adding moreover, that *Craterus* and *Antipater* should have the rule within *Europe*, and upon this they sware the souldiers to be obedient to *Alexanders* issue. *Meleager* then doubting, not without cause, that some evill might come unto him, departed with such as were of his faction; but he returned immediately again, bringing *Philip* with him into the Court, and cried out to the multitude for the assisting of the Common-wealth, in aiding of the new King, whom a little before they had elected, and willed them to make an experience of his abilities, perswading them that he was the fittest to rule over them, being the issue of *Philip*, and had both a King to his father and a King to his brother. There is no profound sea so stormy, nor tempestuous, or that raiseth up so many surges and waves, as a multitude doth motions and alterations, when they swell with the hopes of a new liberty not likely long to continue. There wanted not some who gave their consent to *Perdiccas* but more agreed to make *Philip* King.

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They could neither agree nor disagree a long time together, one while repenting them of their counsel and immediatly again repenting themselves of the repentance. Yet finally, they were inclined to prefer the Kings bloud.

Aridæus was put in such fear with the authority of the Nobility, that he departed out of the assembly, after whose departure the favor of the souldiers was rather silenced, then diminished towards him; so that at length he was called again, and his brothers royall habiliments which lay in the chair were put upon him. And *Meleager* put on his Corslet, following as a defence to the person of the new King. The Phalanx clashed their spears to their Targets, threatning to shed his bloud who went about to take the Kingdome that pertained not unto him. They rejoyced that the strength of the Empire should not be divided, but still continue in the same bloud and family, the right of whose title by inheritance comming of the same bloud royal, they shewed themselves ready to defend, For by reason they were accustomed to have the name of their King in such honour and veneration, they thought no man worthy of it, but such a one who by descent was born to reign. *Perdiccas* therefore was afraid, and with six hundred men that were of an approved manhood, took upon him to defend the place where the body of *Alexander* lay. *Ptolomy* joyned himself unto him also, and the band of the young gentlemen that were about the Kings person, but so many thousands of armed men as were on the other side, did easily break in upon them, amongst whom *Aridæus* was present with a great band for the guard of his person, whereof *Meleager* was chief. *Perdiccas* therefore in great fury called such to his guard as would defend *Alexanders* body: but many of them were sore hurt with darts that came from the contrary side.

At last the ancient men plucked of their head-pieces (the better to be known) and desired them who were with *Perdiccas* to abstain from civil war, and give place to the King, and to the greater part. Whereupon *Perdiccas* was the first that laid down his weapon, and the rest did in like manner. *Meleager* then perswaded them they should not depart, but remain stil about the dead corps, but *Perdiccas* judging it to be a deceit contrived to intrap him, drew back to the side of *Euphrates*, lying on the furthest part of the Court. Then the horsemen, which consisted chiefly of the Nobility, flocked about *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus*, whose opinion was to depart out of the City, and to take the field; but because

Perdiccas

Perdiccas was not without hope that the footmen would have taken his part, he therefore remained ſtil within the City, leſt he might ſeem to be the cauſe that the horſemen ſhould divide themſelves from the reſt of the Army. *Meleager* ceaſed not to beat into the Kings head, that he could not eſtabliſh himſelf ſurely in his Throne, but by the death of *Perdiccas*, whoſe ambitious mind, and deſirous of innovation, was to be prevented in time. He willed the King to remember what *Perdiccas* had deſerved at his hands, and that no man could be faithfull to him whom he feared. The King rather ſuffering then aſſenting to his counſel, *Meleager* took his ſilence for a commandement, and ſent for *Perdiccas* in the Kings name, they who were ſent having Commiſſion to kill him, if he ſhould make any delay to come with them. *Perdiccas* hearing of their comming, accompanied onely with ſixteen young Gentlemen (accuſtomed to attend upon *Alexanders* perſon) met them as they would have entred into his lodging, and calling them *Meleagers* ſlaves, rebuked them with ſuch a conſtancy both of mind and countenance, that they returned back as men amazed. *Perdiccas* willed ſuch as were in his company to keep on horſeback, & with a few of his friends repaired unto *Leonatus*, intending if any violence were moved againſt him, to repulſe it with a greater force.

The next day the Macedons murmured, and thought it unjuſt that *Perdiccas* ſhould be brought in danger of death, and therefore determined with force to revenge the raſhneſs of *Meleagers* doings. But he underſtanding of the mutenie that was amongſt the ſouldiers, gave place, and they repaired to the King, demanding of him if he had commanded *Perdiccas* to be taken? He confeſſed the thing: but it was done (he ſaid) by *Meleagers* inſtigation, for which they ought not to raiſe any tumult, ſeeing that *Perdiccas* was alive. The aſſembly hereupon brake up, and *Meleager* became ſo greatly afraid, eſpecially by the departing of the horſemen, that he knew not what to do, for he ſaw the miſchief which he a little before had intended againſt his enemie, to light upon himſelf, and while he debated with himſelf on this, & on that, three whole dayes were conſumed. Howſoever, the accuſtomed form and faſhion of the Court did remain in the mean ſeaſon, for the Embaſſadours of divers Nations did addreſs themſelves unto the King, the Captains of the army were preſent, and the guard waited in armour as they were accuſtomed. But the great ſadneſs that was there, without any apparent cauſe, ſignified ſome extream deſpair. There was ſuch a

ſuſpicion amongſt themſelves, that men durſt not converſe one with another, but had ſecret imaginations by themſelves, and by comparing the time preſent with the time paſt, and the new King with the old, they began to deſire the King that was gone. Then one enquired of another, what was become of the King, whoſe fortune and authority they had followed? They found themſelves abandoned amongſt ſo many unquiet and unconquered Nations, who were deſirous upon any occaſion that might befall, to be revenged of the injuries they had received.

While they were troubled in theſe imaginations, word was brought that the horſemen (who were under *Perdiccas*) kept the fields about *Babilon*, and ſtayed all victuals from comming to the City. Whereupon, firſt began a ſcarcity, and afterwards a famine, therefore ſuch as were within the City thought good, either to make a reconcilation with *Perdiccas*, or elſe to fight it out. It ſo chanced, that ſuch as dwelled abroad in the Countrey, fearing the ſpoil of the Villages, repaired into the City, and they within the City for want of victuals departed into the Country, ſo that every one thought themſelves ſurer any where, then where their own habitations were. Then the Macedons doubting ſome great inconvenience that might proceed from this fear, aſſembled together in the Court, and declared their opinions. It was agreed amongſt them, that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent to the horſemen for the ſurceaſing of all ſtriſe and diviſion; *Paſas* a Theſſalian, *Amiſſas* a Megapolitan, and *Perelaus* were ſent from the King, who declaring their Commiſſion, received anſwer, that the horſemen would not lay down their arms till the Authours of that ſedition were delivered into their hands. When they were returned, and their anſwer known, the ſouldiers without any appointment, put on their armour, and made ſuch a tumult, that the King was enforced to come forth of the Court, and ſaid unto them:

If we ſhall be at ſtrife amongſt our ſelves, our enemies that be at quiet, ſhall enjoy the fruits of our contention. Remember that the quarrel is with your own Countrey-men, with whom if you raſhly break the hope of reconcilement you ſhall be the beginners of a civil war; Let us prove if they may be mittigated by another Embaſſie. I am of beleif, that becauſe the body of *Alexander* remaineth yet unburied, they will gladly come together to perform the obſequies unto the dead. And for my part, I had rather ſurrender up again this dignity, then that any bloud ſhould be ſhed amongſt my Countrey-men: For if no other hope

hope of concord doth remain, I desire and beseech you to make a better choise. Tears then falling from his eyes he took the Diadem from his head, and holding the same forth with his hand, he was ready to have delivered it to any man who would profess himself to be more worthy then he. The moderation that he used both in his words and his behaviour caused them all to conceive a great good hope of his noble nature, which (till that time) was obscured by the height of his brothers fame; They therefore encouraged and importuned him to go forwards as he had devised, whereupon he sent again the same Embassadours that went before, who had commission to desire that *Meleager* might be the third ruler of the men of war. That demand was not much stuck at, for *Perdiccas* was desirous to remove *Meleager* from the King, and conceived that the King being alone, the King should not be able to match with *Leonatus* and himself.

Upon this *Meleager* marched out of the City with the footmen, and *Perdiccas* met him in the fields, riding before the Bands of the horsemen. There, both battels saluting one another, concord and peace (as it was thought) was confirmed betwixt them for ever. But it was decreed that civill War should arise amongst the Macedons, for government is unpatient of partners, and the Kingdome was coveted by many. At first they gathered, and afterwards disperced their forces; for when the body was burthened with more heads then it could bear, the other members began to fail. So the Empire of the Macedons which under one head might well have stood, when it was divided in parts, fell to ruine. For this cause the people of *Rome* justly must confesse themselves bound unto their Prince for the felicity they enjoy, who as a Star in the night appeared unto them, that were almost lost: Surely it was not the rising of the Sun, but of him that gave light unto the world in darknes, for without such a head the members that were at variance must needs have failed; How many fire-brands did he quench? How many drawn swords did he put up again? how great a tempest did he pacifie with the sudden calm of his presence? the Empire now doth wax verdant and flourishing; let me desire without envy, that his house may continue many ages, and his posterity for evermore; but to return again to the order of the history, from whence I was brought through the contemplation of our universall felicity, *Perdiccas* judged the onely hope of his own safeguard to consist in the death of *Meleager*, thinking it necessary to prevent him, being a man both variable, unfaithfull

faithfull, given to innovation, and beſides, his mortall enemy. But with deep diſſimulation he kept his purpoſe ſecret, to the intent that with leſſe difficulty, he might oppreſſe him unawares. He therefore did ſuborn privily certain of the troops under his own command, to complain openly (as though it were without his privity) that *Meleager* ſhould be made equall with him in authority, which words of the ſouldiers, when they reported unto *Meleager*, he became in a great rage, and declared them to *Perdiccas*, who ſeemed to wonder at it, and to bee paſſionately ſorry for it; and finally, they agreed amongſt themſelves that the authors of ſuch ſeditious words ſhould be apprehended.

When *Meleager* perceived *Perdiccas* ſo conformable, he imbraced him, and gave him thanks for his fidelity and benevolence. Then in a conſultation betwixt them both, they deviſed how to deſtroy ſuch as wrought this diviſion betwixt them; For the bringing of which to paſs, they agreed the army ſhould be purged according to their Countrey cuſtome. To the doing whereof they ſeemed to have a ſufficient occaſion by reaſon of the late diſcord amongſt them. The Kings of Macedon in the luſtration of their army, were accuſtomed to uſe a kind of ceremony, dividing the bowels of a dog into two parts, and to caſt the ſame in the uttermoſt bounds of the field on which they intended to muſter their army, the ſouldiers within thoſe bounds were all to ſtand armed, the horſemen, the mercenary ſouldiers, the Phalanx, and every one apart. The ſame day that this ceremony was put in execution, the King ſtood in order of battell with the horſemen and the Elephants, againſt the footmen, of whom *Meleager* had the rule.

When the troops of horſemen began to move, the footmen were ſuddenly poſſeſſed with a great fear, and by reaſon of the late diſcord, conceived a ſuſpicion that the horſemen did intend no good unto them, Wherefore they ſtood a while in doubt, whether they ſhould retire into the City or not, by reaſon that the fields ſerved beſt for the horſemen. At laſt they ſtood ſtill with a fix'd reſolution to fight, if any ſhould offer them violence. When the battels were almoſt met, and onely a ſmall diſtance left, (whereby the one part was divided from the other) the King by the provocation of *Perdiccas*, with a band of horſemen did ride along by the foot, requiring the delivery of ſuch to be executed as were the authors of the diſcord, whom in very deed,

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he ought to have defended, and threatened if they refuſed their delivery, to bring againſt them, both the Horſemen and the Elephants. The Footmen were amazed with the ſuddenneſs of the miſchief, which they looked not for, and there was no more counſell nor courage in *Meleager* then in the reſt; but they all judged it moſt expedient for them to abide the adventure of that requeſt, and to expect rather then to provoke fortune.

When *Perdiccas* ſaw them aſtonied, and in fear, he ſevered out to the number of three hundred of ſuch who followed *Meleager* when he brake out of the aſſembly that was firſt made after *Alexanders* death, who in the ſight of all the army were caſt to the Elephants, and there trampled to death with their feet, of which *Philip* was neither the author nor the forbidder, but thought to claim that for his own act, which ſhould appear beſt in the end. This was a ſignification and a beginning unto the Macedons of the civill wars that enſued, *Meleager* underſtanding overlate the deceit of this fine plot, becauſe there was no violence offered unto his perſon, ſtood at firſt quietly within the Phalanx; but ſhortly after, when he ſaw his enemies abuſing to his deſtruction the name of him whom he had made King, he diſpaired of his own ſafety, and fled into a Temple; but the religion of the place could not ſo defend him, but that he there was ſlain.

Perdiccas hereupon brought again the army into the City, and calling a Councel of all the principal perſonages, it was agreed ſo to divide the Empire, that the King ſhould remain as Chief of the whole, *Ptolomy* was to be Lievtenant in *Ægypt* and *Affrica*, and to have the rule of the nations there that were under the Macedons dominion. *Syria* and *Phenicia* were appointed to *Laomedon*, *Cilicia* to *Philotas*. *Lycia* with *Pamphilia* and the greater *Phrygia* were aſſigned to *Antigonus*. *Caſſander* was ſent into *Caria*; and *Menander* into *Lidia*; the leſſe *Phrygia* that joyned unto *Helleſpont* was *Leonatus* Province; *Eumenes* had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, who was commanded alſo to defend that Country ſo far as *Trapezunt*, and make war with *Arbates*, who onely remained an enemy to the Empire. *Media* was appointed to *Python*, and *Thracia* to *Lyſimachus* with other Nations thereabouts bordering upon the ſea of *Pontus*. It was ordained alſo, that ſuch as ſhould be the Governors over the Indians, Bactrians, Sogdians, and the other nations lying upon the Ocean and Red Seas, ſhould, in matter of Juſtice, uſe Regal Juriſdiction. It was decreed that

Perdiccas ſhould remain with the King, and have the governance of the men of war that followed him. Some beleeve that theſe Provinces were thus diſtributed by *Alexanders* Teſtament, but we have found the ſame to be falſe, though ſome authours do affirm it.

The Empire being thus divided into parts, every one might well have defended his proportion, if any bounds could contain mens immoderate deſires; for they who before were but ſervants to a King did, not long after, under a ſpecious colour invade one anothers Kingdomes being all of one nation, and having certain bounds to their Dominions allotted to them. But it his hard for men to be contented with that they have in poſſeſſion, when occaſion is profered them of more. For the firſt things always appear of no value, when men are in hope of greater things to come, ſo that every one of them thought it an eaſier matter to encreaſe his Kingdome, then it was at the firſt to get it. *Alexanders* body in the mean ſeaſon lay ſeven days unburied, for whiles every man had care for the eſtabliſhing of the ſtate, their minds were drawn from the performing of the ſolemn Office to the dead. There is no country more fervent in heat then *Meſopotamia*, for the ſun there burneth ſo hot, that it killeth the beaſts that are without covert & burneth up all things as it were with fire, And to the increaſe thereof, there are but few ſprings of water, & the inhabitants uſe ſuch policy in hiding of thoſe they have, that ſtrangers can have no uſe of them.

Notwithſtanding this, when *Alexanders* friends had the leiſure to take care of the dead body, and came to viſit the ſame, they found it without infection, corruption, or change of colour, the ſame cheerfullneſs of ſpirit, which he had alive, being not yet departed out of his countenance. Then the Egyptians and the Caldeans were commanded to imbalm his body after their manner, who at the firſt (as though he had been alive) ſhewed a fear to put their hands to him; but afterwards making their prayers that it might be lawfull for mortall men to touch him, they purged his body, and filled it with ſweet odors, & afterwards laid him upon a Hearſe of Gold, and ſet a Diadem upon his head. It is recorded that he died of poyſon, and that *Iolla*, *Antipaters* ſon, being one of his Miniſters, had given him the ſame. *Alexander* oftentimes would ſay that *Antipater* coveted the eſtate of a King, affecting more greatneſs then pertained to a Lieutenant, and that through the glory of the victory he had gotten of the Lacedemonians, was become ſo proud, that he claimed all things committed to him as his own. It is thought

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alſo that *Craterus* was ſent to kiil him, with thoſe old ſouldiers that were diſmiſſed.

It is certain that there is a poyſon in *Macedonia*, found in a water called *Styges*, of ſuch force, that it conſumeth Iron, and will not be contained in any thing exeept inthe hoof of a horſe, or mule, which poyſon was brought by *Caſſander*, and delivered to his brother Iolla, who preſented it in the drink which theKing laſt drank: however theſe things are reported, the power of them of whom the rumor was ſpread, ſhortly after, oppreſſed the infamy thereof, for *Antipater* became King both of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, who afterwards took away by death the Kings off-ſpring, all being ſlain who had any alliance to him, althongh in the moſt removed conſanguinity. *Ptolomy* (who had the rule of *Ægypt*) conveyed *Alexanders* body to *Memphis*, which within few years after was removed to *Alexandria*, where all honour is given to his memory, and his Name.

FINIS.

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